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ART. I.—*Sketches of Protestantism in Italy, Past and Present: including a Notice of the Origin, History, and Present State of the Waldenses.* By ROBERT BAIRD. Boston. 1845.

THE author of "Religion in America" has, in the present work, begun to furnish the American public with corresponding works on religion in Europe. He has selected that part of Europe for his first essay which is more interesting than all others to Christian people, as being the region where the religion of the gospel has been the most thoroughly perverted and the most wonderfully preserved. It professes to be a sketch of Protestantism; but of necessity unfolds, at the same time, to a great extent, the state, present and past, of the Roman Church. A leading inducement, which the learned and pious author felt for undertaking the labors of such a work, was to awake among Protestants a deeper interest in the restoration of Roman Catholic nations to the faith of the gospel, believing, that the world will never be converted to God but through the regeneration of the fallen churches, whose corruptions, lying in masses through the world, will, while they remain, virulently diffuse everywhere a deadly and destructive influence.

The work is divided into three parts. The first describes the rise, progress, and suppression, of the Reformation in Italy; the second presents a diversified view of the state of things in Italy since that time; and the third part is devoted to an account of the Waldenses, the most wonderfully preserved remnant of the ancient church of Christ. No Christian, Papal or Protestant, no mere scholar even, can glance his eye over this plan, and especially over the table of contents, without feeling the power of an attraction which will draw him on until he has finished the book; for the views that successively open to him are grand in importance, rich in incident, and thrilling in interest.

*Italy before the Reformation.*

Three mighty external causes of corruption brought the church of the apostles to its fall:—state patronage, which made the endowments of office the object of the ambition of worldly men, the employment of the religious machinery of paganism to conciliate and proselyte the heathen, and the overflow of the lands occupied by the church by the torrents of northern barbarians.

The empire of darkness did not spread over Italy and concentrate itself at Rome without resistance, from time to time, by the spirit of truth manifested in divers places. Near the conclusion of the fourth century, Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, lifted up his voice against the growing superstitions of the church and the arrogant assumptions of the bishop of Rome. And Claude, bishop of Turin, in the ninth century loudly denounced the worship of images, saints, and relics; set aside the merit of external works; denied the infallibility of the church, together with the supremacy of the Roman bishop; maintained the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and declared that real heretics were those that departed from the word of God. About two centuries subsequently, the Paulicians, carrying with them the doctrines of the apostle, from whom they derived their name, fled from their native land, Armenia, to escape the persecutions of the Greek emperor, and spread along the north of Italy. They also penetrated into the south of France, where they existed for a long time under the name of Albigenses. The true candlesticks, amid the gross darkness, were set up in their churches along the banks of the Po, and for a long time helped to stave off the impending doom of religion. In the Alpine valleys of Piedmont, the native inhabitants, isolated by their position from the mass of their countrymen, still kept a steady eye to the truths of the gospel, unseduced by the spirit of worldly ambition, and undazzled by the false glare of pagan superstitions. Thence, they sent forth their colonies to the south of Italy; their missionaries were dispersed in various cities and even at Rome itself, and affiliated societies threaded with a line of truth the whole country. Early in the twelfth century appeared a spirit worthy of a better age, Arnaldo da Brescia. He was a pupil of the renowned Abelard, who had so high an opinion of his learning and ability, that he chose him as his supporter in the defense he made of his opinions against Bernard and the bishop of Chartres in the Council of Trent. This was after he had fled from Brescia, his native city, to avoid the effects of excommunication, pronounced against him and his followers. From France he retired to Zurich, where he found refuge and a free opportunity to preach against the superstitions



and tyranny of Rome. He particularly denounced the civil power of the popes and the worldly riches of the church, and maintained that the ministers of Christ should possess only a spiritual authority, and depend altogether upon the voluntary contributions of the people for their support. In 1145 he appeared at Rome, and lifted up the standard of reform. The senate was won over to his opinions, the form of the ancient commonwealth was restored, and for ten years Arnaldo exercised a predominant influence over public affairs. But when Adrian IV. took the pontifical chair, he set himself to overthrow Arnaldo and the commonwealth. Joining alliance with Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, who was invading the states of Italy to rivet his authority over them, he accomplished his purpose. The new republic was crushed, and Arnaldo was sacrificed to the vengeance of the pope. Before his death, he is represented to have appealed to God against the wickedness and cruelty of the Roman hierarchy. "I call heaven and earth to witness that I have announced to you those things which the Lord has commanded. But ye despise both me and your Creator. Nor is it wonderful that ye are about to put me, a sinful man, to death, for preaching to you the truth, since if even Saint Peter were to arise from the dead this day, and were to reprove your many vices, ye would by no means spare him." He was crucified, his body burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Tiber.

Three hundred years elapsed before another master-spirit arose to assail the despotism of Rome. The name of Girolamo Savonarola deserves to be perpetuated, as one of the heroes of truth and martyrs to liberty of conscience. His bold attacks upon the corruption of the Papal court and church, and his tragic fate at the stake, possess more than dramatic interest, as sketched in this book.

The movements made against antichrist, from time to time, under the conduct of the distinguished men already mentioned, were only stars that were destined to rise and set in the long night of the dark ages: but in the commencement of the fourteenth century, the revival of learning indicated the dawning of a day, which, though it had been obscured by dark clouds, will never fully close, until time is no more. The fall of the Greek empire under the Turks contributed to it, by the dispersion through the West of many learned men; and the invention of printing, about the same time, opened a channel for the overspreading of light. Investigation was now extended into every department of human learning. The sacred Scriptures were brought forth to light, read in the original tongues and translated, astonishing many minds with the contrast between the original church of Christ, and the vast and corrupt

machinery of religion, which now bore its name. Learning of every kind is, directly or indirectly, the antagonist of Rome. It throws light directly upon the heresies and follies of Popery, or creates a habit of free inquiry which is hostile to its peace, and will never rest until antichrist is no more. The learned sons and daughters of Rome are her greatest enemies. They will throw open her gates to her invaders, or they will revolutionize her and force her to cast off her ignorance, her superstitions, and her despotism. If Rome will build colleges and schools enough, we have nothing to fear for the final issue.

"No Protestant has ever said harder things against the 'mother of harlots,' than some of the Italian authors. Dante's *Divina Comedia* contains very many passages full of the most cutting satire upon the conduct of the Roman hierarchy,—popes, cardinals, bishops, priests, and monks. Many of his views respecting the divine and supreme authority of the Scriptures in matters of faith and practice were such as every true Protestant holds. This we could easily show by citations, if it were necessary. . . . In his treatise on monarchy, he is even more severe on the abuses of the church than in his poems. He would deprive the popes of temporal authority, and attacks tradition, which has justly been called the main pillar of the Roman Catholic Church. For doing this, his *Monarchia* found a place in the Index of forbidden books, in the year 1559, where it is wonderful that the *Divina Comedia* is not to be found also. . . . Nor was Petrarch less severe upon Rome and its hierarchy than Dante. In his Latin eclogues and Italian sonnets there are many strokes of satire, sometimes concealed, sometimes open. The Papal see is characterized as 'impious Babylon;' avaricious Babylon; the school of error; the temple of heresy; the forge of fraud; the hell of the living! . . . The writings of Boccaccio, Poggio Bracciolini, Ariosto, Berni, Bap-tista, and very many other Italian authors from the revival of learning to the Reformation, abound in severe ridicule and invective aimed especially at the vices of the clergy and monks. Laurentius Valla, 'who,' it is affirmed by Erasmus, 'rescued literature from the grave, and restored to Italy the splendor of her ancient eloquence,' wrote with great ability against the Papal claims and abuses. He lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century."—Pp. 30-34.

#### *Entrance of the Reformation into Italy.*

All this time Rome abates nothing of her arrogance. Despising the growing uneasiness of society and the loud demand for reformation from various quarters, in 1526 a bull was issued from the Vatican forbidding the discussion of such subjects, and especially allusions to antichrist implicating the church. But the preparations for reform were silently moving onward in all lands. Greek, Latin, and Hebrew literature were bringing forth lights upon the real character of the age, and preparing many minds to understand the

true gospel, when once the voice of Luther broke the suspense, declaring in opposition to Rome the unsearchable riches of Christ. John Reuchlin and Erasmus were the most distinguished of those learned men who contributed to the revival of learning, and opened the path for the study of the sacred oracles in the original tongues. The following glimpse of Reuchlin gives a lively impression of his important influence :—

“In one of the first years of the sixteenth century, a baptized Jew, of Cologne, named Plefferkorn, an intimate friend of the Dominican inquisitor, Hochstaten, aided by the monks of his order, succeeded in persuading the emperor Maximilian to give an order that all the Jewish books (the Bible excepted) should be burned. The reason alledged was, that they were filled with blasphemies against Jesus Christ. This was opposed by Reuchlin and other scholars, as a gross injustice. The emperor requested Reuchlin to examine the books. The learned doctor did so, and indicated those that came within the category of such books as the imperial order contemplated. These met their fate ; but such as contained no attacks upon Christianity were saved. This enraged the Dominicans, who commenced a fierce war upon Reuchlin. They ventured to charge him with heresy, and quoted passages from his writings to prove it. But the able professor confounded them, in 1513, in his ‘Defense against his Detractors in Cologne.’ Hochstaten assembled a tribunal at Mayence against Reuchlin, and had his writings condemned to the flames. Reuchlin appealed to Pope Leo X. Leo, who had no love for the monks, referred the matter to the bishop of Spire, who declared Reuchlin innocent, and condemned the monks to pay the cost of the investigation. This affair made a great noise in Italy, where men of learning, as well as in Germany, almost universally took part with Reuchlin.

“While the controversy between Reuchlin and the Dominicans was yet pending, the monks received a blow from another quarter. Ulrich von Hütten took part strongly with the learned doctor, for he was the mortal enemy of the monks. To him has been attributed the famous satire which appeared in 1516, entitled *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. But it appears, that a friend of his, whom he had known at the university, Crotus Robianus, and other Germans, were the real authors of this production, although it is probable that Hütten had no small part in the matter.

“In this work, Reuchlin’s adversaries, the monks,—the pretended authors of these letters,—are made to discourse of the current affairs of the day, and especially of theological matters, after their own fashion, and in their own barbarous Latin. They address the silliest and most unmeaning questions to Eratius, their correspondent at Cologne. They expose, in this way, their own gross ignorance, unbelief, superstition, pride, fanatical zeal, and vulgar and groveling spirit. Among other things, they reveal the profligacy and excesses of the chiefs of their party, and relate several scandalous anecdotes of Hochstraten and Plefferkorn. The mixture of hypocrisy and silliness in these letters ren-



ders them exceedingly comic ; and yet so natural are they, that even the Dominicans and Franciscans in England received them as a genuine and faithful exhibition of the principles and conduct of their order.

“Great was the indignation, however, of the monks in Germany when the work fell into their hands ; and great was the delight of their enemies. The affair was soon carried to the pope. But Leo refused to issue a bull against these letters, and the monks had to digest them as best they could. This controversy, if such it may be called, had some influence in Italy in preparing the way for more important things.”

—Pp. 40–42.

Not only were the Scriptures in the dead languages studied with avidity by the learned, but the writings of the reformers, Luther, Melancthon, Zuingle, and Bucer, had a wonderful circulation among them. They were found in the hands of cardinals, and even in the palace of the pope himself. Some of them were translated into Italian and published with altered titles, so as to veil the names of their authors. What is more interesting still, the Holy Scriptures were translated into Italian and circulated among the people. The literary and commercial intercourse between Germany and Italy favored the dawn of the Reformation in the latter country : especially the wars of Charles V. with Francis I. of France, the theatre of which was mostly in Italy, and the subsequent conflict with Pope Clement VII., were overruled by Providence to prepare the way of the truth. The way in which this was accomplished is partly revealed in the following extract :—

“With such scandal in high places before their eyes, it is not strange that the attachment of the Italians to their religion should, for a season, at least, become weakened ; nor that the Protestant German soldiers, who were in Charles’s army, should speak and act with great boldness. Of this they gave many striking proofs. In order effectually to punish the audacious pontiff, the emperor advanced his armies to the walls of Rome, took the holy city, gave it up to his soldiers to pillage, and compelled the pope,—shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo,—to surrender at discretion. During that period of interregnum in the Papacy, if we may so call it, while Clement was shut up in the castle as a prisoner, the German soldiers, one day, took one of their number, a man by the name of Grünwald, remarkable for his noble countenance and lofty bearing, and having attired him like the pope, they put him on a richly-caparisoned horse, and placed a triple crown upon his head. Others were arrayed like cardinals, bishops, friars, &c. ; and a procession was formed, which was followed by a vast concourse of the people. It moved through all the principal streets of Rome, the mock-pope stopping in front of the houses where the cardinals were confined, and blessing the people after the peculiar manner of the pope. Arriving at length at the Castle of St. Angelo, he drank to the safe custody of

this holiness. He then administered an oath to his own cardinals, binding them to yield due obedience to the emperor, and not to disturb the peace of the state by their intrigues, but as became them, according to the precepts of their heavenly Master, to be subject to the civil powers. After having made a speech, in which he rehearsed the crimes of which the popes had been guilty, and extolled the emperor as an instrument whom God had raised up for their chastisement, the pretended pontiff promised to make over all his authority to Luther, in order that he might purify the church of the corruptions with which it was infected, and refit the ship of St. Peter, which had so long been the sport of the winds and the waves, while the sacrilegious crew were engaged in drinking and debauchery. He then called upon all the soldiers to take an oath for the accomplishment of these good enterprises. Whereupon, all lifted up their hands, and shouted, 'Long live Pope Luther! Long live Pope Luther!' All this took place under the eye of Clement VII.

"There seemed to be little commiseration felt anywhere for the fallen pope. All appeared to think that his misfortunes were the just judgments of God for the sins of the times, and especially for his own amazing folly in provoking a war to which he was wholly unequal.

"Nor were there wanting men, high in rank in the Roman hierarchy itself, who had the courage to utter powerful truths even before the pope and cardinals. A remarkable instance of this occurred at the first meeting of the Apostolical Rota, held after Rome was delivered from the army of Charles V. On that occasion, Staphylo, bishop of Sibari, made a speech, in which he attributed the devastations which had taken place to the judgments of Heaven, inflicted upon the city because of its wickedness; and applied to Rome the striking language, which the prophet Isaiah addresses to Jerusalem. Still more; he pronounced Rome to be the Babylon of the Apocalypse; the 'woman sitting on many waters,' 'full of names of blasphemy, the mother of uncleanness, fornications, and abominations of the earth.' No Protestant has ever used stronger terms respecting Rome than this prelate did on that occasion."—Pp. 49–51.

Such was the break of day in benighted Italy. It is graphically described by the author, and awakens a deep interest in the reader to know the progress of a work which commenced under such promising auspices.

#### *Progress of the Reformation in Italy.*

On this part of the book we can only cast a passing glance. Commencing at the north and proceeding south, which was, in fact, the order nearly in which revival spread, the author describes its operation in Venice, Milan, Turin, Mantua, Locarno, Capo d'Istria, Ferrara, Modena, Florence, States of the Church, Lucca, Pisa, Sienna, and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In all these places the Reformation had its apostles, and in a few of them churches were organized. Pastors, professors, students, and even bishops, were

its converts and supporters. Some noblemen and princes, and many learned and pious ladies, warmly advocated the truth. The progress of the cause was disturbed, somewhat, by unhappy controversies among the Protestants on the subject of the Trinity, and on Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation, and in none of the states did it secure the patronage of the government, under which to make a stand when assailed by the fury of Rome.

The author closes his account of the progress of the Reformation with the following paragraphs:—

“For awhile Rome was undecided what course to pursue. Reform was demanded from almost every quarter of Christendom. At first, it was thought that this voice must be listened to; and Pope Paul III., in 1537, appointed four cardinals and five prelates, to confer on the subject and give him their advice as to the best method of reforming the abuses of the church. This commission met at Bologna, and, after long deliberations, reported a number of evils,—such as the intrusion of improper persons into the priesthood, the sale of benefices and the disposition of them by testaments, the granting dispensations, and the union of bishoprics, including the incompatible offices of cardinals and bishops, &c.,—which called for speedy remedy. This ‘Advice’ Paul III. approved and published, but did not follow. And still worse, Cardinal Caraffa, one of the commission, when he ascended the Papal throne, as he did under the name of Paul IV., put this document in the Index of forbidden books! This ‘Advice,’ we may remark, afforded no little amusement in Germany. Luther translated it into German, and prefixed an engraving representing the pope seated on a high throne, surrounded by his cardinals, who were all busy sweeping the room, each with a broom made of a long pole with a fox’s tail fastened to the end! Among other things, the ‘Advice’ recommended that the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, the best work that ever came from his polished pen, should be forbidden to be used in the schools, because of its dangerous tendency. It was well for them that the learned author was in his grave, or they would soon have felt the effects of his caustic wit.

“But Rome at length abandoned her vascillating policy. She laid her schemes deep in diabolical cunning. She resolved, indeed, to call a general council; not to reform the church, but to complete the vast fabric of error, at which she had been toiling for ages, and place upon it the cap-stone. This she did by the Council of Trent. And at the same time she resolved that the ‘reformed doctrine’ should be exterminated everywhere in Christendom, where she had the power to do it by violence! And soon blood flowed from one extremity of Italy to the other, and the prayers and the groans of the victims ascended to heaven, one day to be answered and avenged, from many a city in that ill-fated land.”—Pp. 82–84.

#### *Suppression of the Reformation.*

The means employed by the court of Rome to suppress the Reformation, were the re-organization of the Inquisition on the



Spanish model, the arrest of the leading advocates of reform, the interdiction of heretical works by the Index Expurgatorius, and the employment of the secular sword. Language cannot depict the alarm, the distress, the bloodshed which marked the dreadful tragedy which took place everywhere in Italy. Our author has detailed it in a simple but most impressive and eloquent manner. His portraits of some of the distinguished martyrs and sufferers are true to nature. The most horrid scenes on an extended scale were the extirpation of the entire colony of the Waldenses, which for two hundred years had been established in Calabria. In Venice persecution took its mildest form, but even there it proved "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." Look at it!

"For a long time the senate resisted the application of capital punishment to those who were convicted by the Inquisition of holding the new doctrines. But at length it yielded this point, also. How many suffered death in that city and its territories we have no means of knowing. The mode of putting them to death was by drowning. And though this was less barbarous than burning, yet circumstances sufficiently horrible were not wanting. The prisoner was taken from his cell at the hour of midnight and placed in a gondola, as the small and swiftly-gliding boat of Venice is called, with no other attendants than the rowers, and a priest to act as a confessor. After being carried out into the outer harbor, another boat approached and came alongside. The prisoner was laid on a plank, whose ends rested on the two boats. His hands were tied, and a heavy stone was attached to his feet. A signal being given, the boats separated, and the victim was plunged into the deep, to rise no more 'till the sea gives up her dead.'

"The first person who suffered martyrdom in the city of Venice,—though several had been previously put to death in the territories of that republic,—was Giulia Guirlanda. He sunk into the deep calling upon the Lord Jesus. He was in the fortieth year of his age. His death occurred on the 19th October, 1562. Antonio Ricetto, a most honorable man, was the next. Great efforts were made by the senate to induce him to recant. The entreaties of his little son were employed to move him; but all in vain. In the gondola he was firm, prayed for those who put him to death, and commended his soul to his Saviour. He was drowned on the 15th February, 1566. Francisco Spinula followed; he was drowned ten days after Ricetto. But the most distinguished of all the martyrs of Venice was Fra Baldo Lupetino. He was of a noble and ancient family, became a monk, and rose to a high rank in his order. After having proclaimed the gospel in various places, in Italy and out of it, both in the Italian and Slavonian languages, he was thrown into prison by the inquisitor and the pope's legate. There he lay almost twenty years. On the one hand, the Protestant German princes interceded with the senate for his life; on the other, the pope and his inquisitor and legate demanded his death—which he met with great firmness, and in peace.

"There is reason to believe that many others suffered death in Venice, of whose names history makes no mention. Besides these, many died in prison, or of diseases contracted during long confinement there. And great numbers escaped to other lands."—Pp. 99, 100.

The work of extirpating heresy was successful everywhere except in the high valleys of Piedmont, where, though blood was shed in profusion, it did not extinguish the candle of gospel light, which, from apostolical times, the Waldenses, protected by those mighty forts of nature, the Alps, have kept burning with more than vestal vigilance. The refugees from persecution fled in all directions, to France, Switzerland, Savoy, the Netherlands, and England. Our author follows the most distinguished of them in their exile, and describes their labors in the Protestant churches. This is an instructive section of the work, and presents some scenes of touching interest.

*Civil State of Italy since the Reformation.*

Dr. Baird details the political changes of Italy since the Reformation, from which it appears that no part of it retains its former state, "save the little republic of San Marino perched upon its mountain top, and quietly looking down upon the distant Adriatic." A good map will aid the reader to an accurate impression of the present political sections of the country. The following is the author's summary of the population:—

"Names of the States.	Extent in Square Miles.	Population.
Kingdom of Naples . . . . .	43,052 . . . . .	7,434,300
Kingdom of Sardinia . . . . .	29,534 . . . . .	4,123,000
Austrian Lombardy . . . . .	18,450 . . . . .	4,278,902
Estates of the church . . . . .	17,572 . . . . .	2,592,329
Grand Duchy of Tuscany . . . . .	8,759 . . . . .	1,275,000
Duchy of Parma . . . . .	2,253 . . . . .	437,400
Duchy of Modena . . . . .	2,145 . . . . .	379,000
Duchy of Lucca . . . . .	434 . . . . .	145,000
San Marino . . . . .	44 . . . . .	8,400
	<hr/> 122,243	<hr/> 20,673,331

"The area of Italy is about equal to that of Great Britain and Ireland; but its population is three or four millions less."—P. 176.

The book presents a more favorable view of the civilization of Italy, particularly in respect to agriculture and the conveniences of living, than we have gathered from the fragmentary sketches of occasional travelers;—it expresses a high opinion of the capacity of the Italian population for improvement. All they want is deliverance from the incubus of civil and spiritual despotism, to rise

up at once a thriving and accomplished nation. As it is, the genius and enterprise of the land have been developed to an unparalleled degree in the cultivation of the fine arts, which accorded with the spirit of a showy religion, and gave no alarm to tyranny. In architecture, sculpture, painting, music, Dr. Baird exhibits a constellation of great minds, such as adorn the history of no other nation. General education is in its lowest state in Italy. The masses are grossly ignorant, and it is a common thing to find men engaged in profitable business who cannot read; and some that are even in the highest ranks without any knowledge of letters.

"We are not aware that any governments in Italy have established systems of popular education for the instruction, at the public expense, of all classes of youth, save those of Tuscany and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. In some states nothing whatever, so far as we have been able to learn, that is worthy of mention, has been done by law. We were assured by a distinguished professor, since deceased, of the University of Rome, when we were there for the first time, in 1837, that there was no general public provision for the education of the children throughout his holiness's realm! and that at least two-thirds of them were growing up in complete ignorance of letters. Nor is the state of things, in this respect, any better in the kingdoms of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies.

"In Tuscany and the Austrian Lombardo-Venetian kingdom it is different. In the former the grand duke, who is the most enlightened prince in Italy, has done much for the education of all classes of his subjects. Schools exist in all the principal villages, which are open to all classes. Gratuitous schools, on Thursdays and other holydays, are kept up, in which instruction is given, under the eye of the priests, particularly in the catechism of the Roman Catholic Church. Through the efforts of several benevolent persons at Florence, Pisa, and Leghorn, infant schools have been established in those cities, and maintained, for the most part, by the voluntary gifts of the well-disposed, from the grand duke down to the humblest individual. Several of the schools have been founded for the benefit of the children of the Israelites, who reside in considerable numbers in Tuscany, especially in the last named city.

"In the Austrian dominions in Italy the state of education is better than it is in Tuscany, so far as the lowest classes of the people are concerned. The government of Austria has, for more than a quarter of a century, imbibed the spirit of internal improvement and education which prevails in Germany, and which had its origin in Prussia. Nor is the government of that empire the only Roman Catholic one which has caught the sacred flame. Bavaria, Saxony, France, and, as we have just seen, Tuscany also, have entered upon the same course.

"The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom dates from the year 1814. During the thirty years which have since passed away, the Austrian government has done much for the instruction of all classes of people in this portion of its various dominions. Schools have been established



in all the communes, or townships, as well as in the villages and larger towns. These schools are of two classes, the minor and superior. In the former, the elements of an education—reading, writing, arithmetic, and religious instruction—and in the more advanced classes, Italian grammar, calligraphy, epistolary composition, the first rudiments of the Latin, the history of the Bible, and especially the lessons of the gospel, which occur on Sundays and other festivals, are taught. In the superior schools, which are mostly in the larger villages and towns, instruction is given in the elements of mathematics, geometry in its application to the arts, drawing, architecture, mechanics, geography, physics, and, in some of them, history, book-keeping, chemistry, and the French and German languages. Religious and moral instruction forms a part of every week's studies. This branch of education is intrusted solely to the Roman Catholic clergy. There are schools also for the girls, in which the instruction is adapted to the duties and pursuits of the sex. All the teachers have been trained in normal schools. Excellent moral and sanitary regulations are enforced, and all corporeal punishment is forbidden. Cleanliness, health, and propriety of conduct, are especially attended to, and the practice of every virtue sedulously inculcated."—Pp. 184–187.

The higher institutions of learning—lyceums, colleges, and universities—abound in Italy, but they are behind the age both in the method of communication and in the branches taught. It is the policy to pursue those studies which tend least to a discovery of the real truth of Christianity, and to awaken a spirit of reformation. Latin is studied, Greek and Hebrew neglected. Metaphysics are studied in the obsolete manner of the schoolmen. Casuistry is preferred to the exact sciences, while the modern languages and general geography are kept in the background.

The academies form an exception to this state of the literary institutions. They are designed for investigation and discussion, and have become so popular as to be found in every principal city. The literature of Italy had its Augustan period during the first century of reformation, but afterward declined on account of the wars by which the country was disturbed, the loss of commerce, the depravation of morals, and especially in consequence of the despotic restraints laid upon the press. The present century witnesses a partial revival. In the natural and exact sciences, in history, poetry, political economy, and jurisprudence, Italy has her stars. Manzoni is particularly noticed as "the Sir Walter Scott of that country. He is a universal genius, excelling at once as a philosopher, novelist, dramatist, and lyric poet. In his *Promessi Sposi* he has given Italy the most perfect model of an historical romance."

"In the year 1819 a literary journal, entitled the *Conciliatore*, was commenced at Milan, of which Silvio Pellico was editor; and to whose

pages Gioja, Romagnosi, Ressi, Pecchio, the Marquis Hermes Visconti, the Counts dal Pozzo and Giovanni Arrivabene, Rasori, Plana, Carlini, Mussotti, Ugoni, Sclavini Ludovico di Breme, Borsieni, Maronchelli, and other able writers, contributed. This journal was suppressed by the Austrian government in 1820, and several of its contributors, as well as its editor, were condemned to the prison of Spielberg. And although its career was short, the *Conciliatore* exercised a decidedly happy influence. One of the great objects which its founders had in view, was to infuse a more Christian spirit into the literature of Italy, which had, in fact, for a long time partaken largely of an infidel character. Another, was to promote the regeneration of the country. 'Through this journal,' to use the language of one of their number, 'they hoped to give a new literary direction to the intellect; or, in other words, to restore letters to their pure and primary end; that is to say, to lead to the true by means of the beautiful.' A noble patriotism seems to have actuated this able corps of writers, for they entered at once into admirable plans for promoting education, agriculture, and the useful arts. But, alas, their projects were soon interrupted; and, for indulging in them, some of their little circle were called to long years of cruel suffering in the gloomy dungeons of a prison.

"It is, however, an interesting fact, that both literary and political journals have greatly increased in numbers during the present century, notwithstanding the heavy restrictions on the freedom of the press. Including every description, there are now fully two hundred periodicals, newspapers, magazines, &c., in Italy, and some of them are conducted with much ability, especially those of a purely scientific and literary character."—Pp. 192, 193.

The sacred literature of Italy is comparatively insignificant.

The political condition of Italy is gloomy enough. The last spark of civil liberty quivers alone on the high skirts of the Appenines in the little republic of San Marino. The republican and free cities once flourishing in Italy are among the things that were. The revolutions of time have blended the states together more than formerly, but the consolidation is not favorable to liberty, inasmuch as there is less occasion for collisions, which, in former times, have made some states a refuge from the persecutions of others, and especially of Rome. The best governed state is Tuscany, because the present grand duke, Leopold II., happens to be a man of a liberal and enlightened mind. The estates of the church are cursed with a government which, for complicateness, imbecility, expensiveness, irresponsibleness, and whatever else constitutes a bad government, has not a parallel on earth. But there is a redeeming spirit abroad,—an undercurrent already beginning to heave the surface of things.

"In the mean while restlessness prevails almost everywhere. Secret associations ramify throughout the whole country. The *Giovane Italia*

—as the patriotic band of those who seek the deliverance of their country is called—numbers many thousands of members. It holds correspondence with exiled compatriots who reside in Switzerland, France, England, and other lands, and impatiently wait for the day of their country's redemption. That day will come; but those who desire it ought to know, that their efforts should be unremittingly directed toward doing all that is practicable, be it little or be it much, for the moral regeneration of the nation by the grand means which God has appointed, the reading of the sacred Scriptures, and the preaching of the pure gospel.

"Such is the severity of the censorship of the press in Italy, that it is only in indirect ways that the grief as well as the indignation of the oppressed people can find expression. In all periods of the world, the enslaved have had to employ allegory, fable, and apologue, in order to utter those unpalatable truths which they dared not to express plainly. Sometimes ancient events are brought forward to characterize those which are modern, and provoke the needed resistance. Such is the course pursued at present by the enemies of despotism in Italy. Niccolini, in his recent tragedy, entitled *Arnaldo da Brescia*, depicts, in the strongest colors, the corruption and profligacy of the spiritual and temporal powers by which his beautiful country is desolated, while relating the heroic and patriotic conduct, as well as the unfortunate end, of one who resisted tyranny unto death in the twelfth century. He has executed his task with singular ability. Nor will his vivid delineations of the present oppression and insolence of their spiritual and secular tyrants, though he professedly writes of what occurred six hundred years ago, fail to make an enduring impression on the minds of his numerous readers."—Pp. 197, 198.

Our author defends the character of the native population of Italy from the aspersions of transient visitors, who have described them from a passing glance as indolent and vicious in the extreme. He makes a distinction between *idleness* and *indolence*, and declares that they are idle only through necessity, and not of choice. There is nothing for the beggar to do but to beg. How can it be otherwise in a country where heavy taxes discourage commerce, internal and external, and take away the inducement with the proper reward of mechanical and agricultural enterprise?

#### *State of Religion in Italy since the Reformation.*

Under this caption, Dr. Baird gives us a luminous account of the religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church. The old ones were revived and strengthened, and a new one was invented with peculiar adaptation to the emergency created by the Reformation. This was the order of the Jesuits, than which Satan has no greater masterpiece.

"The members of this order were forbidden to seek, or accept, any post of honor in the church, such as the office of a bishop, archbishop,



patriarch, pope, &c. They were not permitted to confess a woman, save in the presence of a third person, who should, however, be a Jesuit. They were not allowed to receive money for saying masses.

"On the other hand, they were permitted to enjoy not only all the rights of the mendicant and secular orders, and be exempt from all supervision of the bishops, and jurisdiction of civil magistrates, so that they should acknowledge no authority but that of the pope and the superiors of their order, but they could also exercise every priestly function, parochial rights notwithstanding, among all classes of men, even during an interdict. They could absolve from all sins and ecclesiastical penalties, change the object of a vow, acquire churches and estates, without Papal sanction; dispense themselves, in certain circumstances, from the observance of canonical hours, fasts, and prohibitions of meals, and even from the use of the breviary. Their general was invested with unlimited power over the members. He could send them on missions of every kind; could appoint professors of theology at his discretion, whenever he chose; and confer academical degrees, which were to be equivalent to those granted by the universities. These privileges secured to the Jesuits a power and an influence incomparably greater than those of any other order, and fitted them for any sort of work. They could mingle with the world as men of the world. They could be agreeable and accommodating confessors at courts, and the companions of the rich and the gay, as well as visit the poor, or carry the banner of the cross to the distant pagans, or undertake the conversion of the most desperate heretics."—Pp. 222, 223.

The paternity of this marvelous contrivance can be imagined, when we reflect that the idea sprung up in the mind of a Spanish knight, while reading of the exploits of saints, as he was lying in a hospital sick of a wound received at the siege of Pampeluna. Luther caught his inspiration from the Bible, Loyola from a legend of the saints. Over which of these books, think ye, was the Holy Spirit hovering? The Council of Trent, which held its sessions from 1545 to 1563, (eighteen years,) fully settled and canonized all the multifarious errors and superstitions which were the growth of ages, and closing with loud curses upon all heretics, rallied the mighty hosts of Rome to conflict. That fiery organ, the Inquisition, followed next in the train; and civil wars, instigated for the purpose of extinguishing heresy, consummated the dreadful operation. The results are well known. The onward march of reformation was arrested, and thrown back to nearly the limits now marked in the geography of Europe. The following passages will reveal the links which connect the past with the present, and will furnish matter for deep and solemn meditation:—

"Another century passes away and we are brought to the year 1768. And what was then the state of the Protestants and Roman Catholics, relative and positive? Neither the one nor the other had gained much

upon its antagonist. Both had increased, especially in the new world, through the natural increase of the population of the countries in which they predominated. Both were content to maintain the *status quo*, and to consider Protestantism and Romanism to be political rather than religious elements, and only to be taken into account when there was question respecting the balance of power. Both had sunken down into a state of profound apathy. In the Protestant nations of Europe, with the exception of the partial revival of true piety in Great Britain, through the labors of Wesley and Whitefield, and in Germany through those of Francke and Spener, formalism had long prevailed in the churches. In some parts a cold Pelagianism, a lifeless Arianism, and even Deism, had been gaining ground; while in Roman Catholic countries, victory had led to insolence, and finally to carelessness, indolence, and worldliness on the part of the hierarchy. In consequence of this, a general disgust was felt among the higher classes at the doctrines and rites of Rome. Everywhere the way was fast preparing for the outbreak of infidelity and irreligion, which took place a few years later, when the seeds of political liberty which the Reformation had sown, more or less profusely in all Europe, as well as in America, after having long germinated, were about to produce an abundant harvest in both hemispheres.

"The revolution of 1789, in France, gave another dreadful blow to Rome. It was the fourth; but it differed widely from the three which preceded it, for it came from the hands of those who hated Christianity under every name and every form. Twenty-five years of war and revolution ensued, fatal to the interests of vital piety, but fraught with due punishment both to Roman Catholic and Protestant nations for their sins."—Pp. 232, 233.

The regular and secular clergy number about five hundred thousand, and the proportion of consecrated persons, male and female, to the whole population, is as one to forty-five! With such a host of agents one might think Christianity would exhibit the acme of perfection, did not the very fact reveal a corruption of religion. That must be a corrupt religion which separates so many persons from the common pursuits of life. Loaves and fishes without labor will always have a charm for the multitude. That there are many exceptions to this view our author cheerfully concedes. Some of the clergy are both learned and devout, and all the orders have a sprinkling of charity. The body of the priests, and especially the monks, are deeply sunk in ignorance, idleness, and sensuality. The priests, generally, have no acquaintance with the Bible, and it is a rare thing for them to preach a sermon. Many of them are infidels. Saying mass, repeating matins and vespers, hearing confessions, solemnizing marriages, and administering extreme unction, constitute their business. And those who are disposed to labor are sufficiently burdened. In such a state of things it is easy to conjecture the moral condition of the people.

"And what is absolutely confounding is the fact, that in proportion as you approach the city of Rome, come from which end of Italy you may, bad government, physical desolation, poverty, ignorance, irreligion, vice, crime, all increase! And when you reach Rome, and enter within the walls of the eternal city, you will find less of true piety and purity of morals than in any other city in all Christendom, if you may credit the testimony of Romans themselves.

"When we visited Rome, in the year 1837, one of the first things we heard the distinguished individuals, both natives and foreigners, to whom we bore letters of introduction, say, was, that we had come to the worst place within all the limits of the Roman Catholic world to see what religion is. And yet that city is the abode of the so-styled vicar of Christ, the centre of the whole Christian world, the seat of all the mighty influences which the Vatican sends forth throughout the earth! Why is this? We leave to others to assign the reasons, for we cannot, upon the supposition that the Roman Catholic religion is a true type and expression of the gospel.

"As to the alledged immoralities which prevail in Italy, including infidelity to the marriage relation, the absence of domestic happiness in so many families, the want of strict honesty in the business classes, the want of female virtue in the large cities and towns, &c., we will not undertake to speak of them. That there is much vice—less open, indeed, than in most countries, it is true—in Italy, is what is conceded by all. That the state of things is much better in this respect than it was three centuries ago, we seriously doubt. The same superstitions and the same sins prevail now as at the epoch of the Reformation."—Pp. 256, 257.

#### *Encouraging Signs in Relation to Italy.*

Multitudes are growing restless under her spiritual and political despotism—many more are panting for a purer and more spiritual religion—an interest in education is felt by many, especially in Tuscany, and in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom the Holy Scriptures are coming to be read by the better classes, and by communication with Protestant nations through the native Italians abroad in business, or exiled by oppression, Italy is made to feel the impulse of the religious and civil enterprises of the age. In addition to this, there are, at the lowest computation, thirty thousand Protestants every winter visiting the different parts of Italy, and what is more important, is the fact, that these transient inhabitants are allowed to have ministers of their own faith to preach the gospel among them. There are two Protestant chapels at Rome. Outside of the city, near the Poita del Popolo, is the English chapel, in which about five hundred persons, during the winter season, hear the gospel in their own language; and at the residence of the Prussian ambassador, on the Capitoline Hill, is another chapel, in which the services of the Protestant religion are performed, and



the German residents hear the word of life from a faithful and excellent minister. In Naples are two chapels, one for the English, the other for those who speak French or German, which has two ministers attached to it; and connected with the Swiss regiments of the Neapolitan army are two Protestant chaplains. At Messina, in Sicily, are two chapels, one for the English and the other for all who understand French. The English Protestants have service from time to time at Palermo, which is visited by English and Americans engaged in the Italian trade. Leghorn is a free port, and has worship for the English, Germans, French, Swiss, and even for Italians. The Armenians and Greeks also have chapels, the Jews a synagogue, the Turks a mosque. There is a large English chapel in Florence, in which, also, the Swiss and French Protestants have a service. In Venice a Hungarian pastor, Mr. Witchen, is supported by the king of Prussia. At Genoa Protestant services are maintained for the benefit of the English, Prussian, and French residents. The Germans have a chapel at Bergamo; and at Milan the Austrian government has generously allowed a Protestant chapel to be established, to which are attached two pastors, one preaching to the citizens, the other to the soldiers. In the hotel of the Prussian ambassador at Turin is a chapel, in which a service is maintained. At Nice the English have a service, and occasional Protestant worship is observed in Lucca and Sienna, Sorrento and Castellamare.

Our author says :—

“It is a remarkable fact, that several of the Swiss and German ministers who are in Italy had obscure, and some of them very erroneous, views of the gospel when they went thither; but they have been brought to the knowledge of the truth, and made to feel its power, through God’s blessing upon the reading of the sacred Scriptures. Were it proper, we could name some very interesting cases of conversion, which have occurred among these ministers, who, at first, and for many years, preached what was another gospel!

“As to the English chaplains in Italy, while it is to be lamented that there are some among them who do not seem to comprehend the gospel, nor the true work of the ministry, there are some of a very different character. And the reading of the liturgy, where the minister does not comprehend his true mission and office, it is believed, exerts a great influence to keep alive in the hearts of those entering with interest into the service, the knowledge of God and divine things.”—

• Pp. 280, 281.

#### *Waldenses.*

But Protestantism in a more interesting form is found in Italy,—that which has existed from apostolical times in the church of the

Waldenses. They are pent up in a mountainous region by the spurs of the Alps in Piedmont, which is only twenty miles by sixteen in its largest extent, being forbidden by law to extend their domain. Their antiquity is fully proved by tradition, as preserved by themselves and admitted by their enemies; it is recognized by respectable historians and indicated by their language, which, according to M. Renouard, is "an idiom intermediate between the decomposition of the language of the Romans, and the establishment of a new grammatical system;" and by their religion, which is a relict of primitive Christianity. From the beginning they have protested against the corruptions of Papacy, and refused, at every sacrifice, to succumb to it. They have not only kept the lamp of original Christianity lighted at home among the mountains, but by missionaries they have diffused it abroad, and cherished its lingering sparks in almost every nation of Europe. Peter Waldo was a native of Piedmont. "Not only did preachers go out from the valleys to proclaim the glorious gospel, but humble, pious pedlers, or itinerant merchants, of whom there were many in the middle ages, scattered the truth by carrying some leaves of the word of life, or some religious tracts among their merchandise, which they engaged those whom they found to be favorably disposed to receive and read." Furious has been the hostility of Rome against this little flock of the faithful. Crusade after crusade has been instigated against them to the number of thirty-three! Not a peak of their mountains nor a cave in their valleys but is stained with innocent blood. The details of the great persecution of 1655, by the army under the marquis of Pianessa, are shocking. Milton's celebrated ode gives but too faint a view of the horrible scene.

An appeal to the Protestant states was made by the synod as soon as they could gather together, which called forth spirited remonstrances from some Protestant courts, some of whom sent envoys to enforce them. Cromwell, whose character appears better the more it is brought to light, not only sent an envoy to the duke of Savoy, but appointed a day of humiliation and prayer with collections in all the churches for their relief. He also addressed letters to many of the principal powers of Europe, soliciting their assistance, which were promptly responded to with many expressions of indignation at the outrage of humanity in the persons of the Waldenses. The last and most dreadful war was undertaken by the duke of Savoy at the instance and with the aid of the blood-thirsty fanatic, Louis XIV., in 1686, which resulted in the depopulation of the country by murder and exile. The exiles rallied

under the banner of the brave Henri Arnaud three years after, and forced the passage back to their native valleys.

“Upon the downfall of Napoleon, in 1814, the king of Sardinia recovered his ancient dominion, and none of his former subjects gave him a more cordial welcome than the Waldenses, though they had good reason to fear the change. They respectfully and loyally implored his protection. Lord William Bentick, the commander of the British forces in Italy, also interposed in their behalf; but it was in vain. The congress of Vienna made no effectual provision for the protection of these people in their rights. Lord Castlereagh, whose duty it was to look after this matter, was wholly indifferent to it. He did not even return an answer to the address of the deputy whom they sent to Vienna. The consequence was, what had been foreseen and feared by many, the ancient dynasty brought back all its bigotry, its subserviency to Rome, and its injustice toward the poor Waldenses. And though no persecution has taken place, yet there has been no year since in which these people have not been oppressed in one way or another. At this moment, they are not allowed to acquire or hold property beyond the ancient limits; they are prohibited from physicians, surgeons, and advocates, though they may be apothecaries and counselors in their own valleys; they are forced to serve as soldiers, and about forty of their young men enter the army as conscripts every year, but they cannot rise above the rank of serjeant; they are not allowed to work on the Romish holydays; their pastors, instead of receiving fourteen hundred francs each from the government, as in Napoleon's time, receive but five hundred, and that by means of a tax levied upon their people; they may neither build churches nor parsonages without special permission, and this it is often difficult to obtain; they are not allowed to have a printing-press in their valleys, nor to print anything within the kingdom, while the duties on books from abroad are enormous; they cannot prevent a Catholic priest from coming into their houses and trying to convert their children, if the boys have reached twelve, and the girls ten years of age; they can buy no land from a Catholic living in the midst of them, though the Catholic may buy theirs; it is death for them to proselyte a Catholic, though every encouragement is held out for their conversion to Romanism; and lastly, they are not allowed to intermarry with the Roman Catholics.—Pp. 364, 365.

The number of Roman Catholics is about four thousand; of Protestants, twenty-two thousand.

The author made a visit to the valleys in 1837, and another in 1843. His description of the aspects of the country and its inhabitants is lively,—but his description of the church is most interesting to us. The pastors are intelligent, laborious, and faithful. Their parishes are large in geographical extent, and in most the people are scattered widely, and in places difficult of access in the winter season.



"As to the style of preaching which prevails in these valleys, it is simple, affectionate, and persuasive, rather than powerful and exciting. Nevertheless, there are some ministers among them who have energy enough. They commonly write their sermons, and commit them to memory. In no case do they read their discourses; to this the people are strongly and universally opposed. Almost invariably the mode of conducting public worship is this: the regent, or teacher of the chief parish-school, which is always held in the village where the church of the parish stands, commences the service by reading two or three chapters from Ostervald's French Bible. At the end of each, he reads the practical observations which are contained in the old folio edition of that excellent translation. After half an hour has been spent in that way, and when the people are well assembled, the pastor ascends the pulpit and commences with a short invocation of the divine blessing, according to words of the liturgy which is in use in the Waldensian churches. After this he calls upon the people to listen with attention to the ten commandments, and the summary thereof given by the Saviour. Then follows what is called the 'confession of sins,' which is the same that is found in the liturgies of the French and Swiss churches. Next follows the singing of a psalm, in which the whole congregation join. A prayer of considerable length succeeds, taken from the liturgy commonly, though it is optional with the pastors, as it is with those in France and Switzerland, to make an extemporaneous prayer in place of the one in the book, if they prefer to do so. Then comes the sermon; which is followed by the singing of a psalm or hymn. Next there is a prayer from the liturgy, which is pretty rigidly adhered to. This prayer embraces the petitions for the king, royal family, government, church universal, and their own churches in particular, the afflicted, &c. This prayer is followed by the recital of the Lord's prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. A few verses are then sung, and the Aaronic benediction is pronounced."—Pp. 382, 383.

The polity of the Waldensian church very nearly resembles the Presbyterian. There is a consistory in each church, consisting of the pastor, elders, deacons, and legal adviser. The next court is the Table or Board, consisting of three pastors and two laymen, elected by the synod and charged with the execution of its decrees and a general supervision of the pastors and churches.

"The synod embraces all the regular pastors and professors in the college who are ministers, the pastor-chaplain at Turin, and two elders as deputies from each parish. Besides these, superannuated pastors and candidates of theology may attend and speak, but not vote. The two elders from each parish have but one vote. The intendant of Pignerol, with his secretary, attends, not as a member, but to see that nothing shall be done which might injure the cause of the Roman Catholic Church, and that the synod confine itself to the subjects specified in the petition addressed to the government, asking leave to hold the present meeting."—Pp. 387, 388.

"There is nothing in the organization or action of these churches, that in the slightest degree savors of prelacy. And in answer to our inquiries on this subject, the pastors have, without exception, stated that prelacy has never existed in the valleys; and that such has ever been the uniform opinion of their ancestors, so far as it has been handed down to them. As to the bishops spoken of in some of their early writings, they believe that they were nothing more than pastors. They say, what is undeniable, that their histories speak continually of their *barbes*, as being their religious teachers and guides, but that the word bishop is hardly ever met with."—Pp. 389, 390.

In doctrine the Waldenses are Calvinists. The synod at Angona, in 1535, adopted a creed of which the following are articles:—

"All that have been, or shall be, saved, were elected by God before all worlds."

"They who are saved cannot miss of salvation."

"Whosoever maintaineth free-will, wholly denieth predestination, and the grace of God."—P. 395.

The other sixteen articles are such as we consider sound doctrine, and are decidedly anti-Papal. They will not acknowledge the name of Protestants, for they say they never were a part of the Roman Church. Our author speaks in the highest terms of the general morality of the inhabitants, not believing "it possible to find another community, of the same extent, which is equally virtuous."

For purposes of education they have a college, a grammar school, and one hundred and fifty common schools. Funds for these have been raised in England by Rev. Mr. Sims, Dr. Gilly, and the excellent Colonel Beckwith, who, with singular benevolence, has adopted the country and devoted himself, his influence, and property, to its interests. The Waldenses are suffering under great political injustice. Yet they can bear it with meekness. Dr. Baird says:—

"In our interviews with the Waldensian pastors, we were struck with the kindness of feeling which they manifested in relation to their king. And many things, which they stated to us, certainly prove that he is not wanting in a disposition to do them justice. He has ever been ready to contribute to relieve those who have suffered from fire or any other calamity. When approached, privately, he has always granted the requests which these people have made. He has been disposed to suffer the severe edicts, published against them in former times, to remain unexecuted whenever he could. The Waldenses believe, that if he could have his own way, he would be everything that they could desire. But, poor man, there is a power behind the throne, in the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which he dares not provoke, for it is too powerful for him to resist. But whatever goes wrong, the Waldenses, with a charity which is certainly very lovely and very remarkable, are not

willing to believe that the king is the author of it, or that, if he knows it, he can prevent it."—Pp. 410, 411.

In conclusion, our author challenges the sympathies of their Protestant brethren in America for the Waldenses, and solicits means to supply them with libraries, to repair their churches, and to employ more ministers. Who would not feel it an honor to contribute something to preserve and increase this real remnant of the apostolical church?

In conclusion, we will remark that we have taken a ramble through this work, connecting the chief points of the history by the main thread of events, not so much for the purpose of making a critique upon it, as to excite an interest in the work of evangelization in the heart of the Romish empire, and to start an inquiry, What more shall be done for Italy?

The Foreign Evangelical Society will doubtless do something in aid of the Waldenses, and the "Christian Alliance" will devote itself principally to the interests of Italians; but is there nothing for the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church to do in this field? Is it not time that we should strike out for ourselves some part in the great work of restoring the gospel to those lands where it was first preached? It may be objected, we have no means. Let there be a call for special gifts for this purpose—the graduates of our colleges, if called upon, would furnish the means out of their own pockets. Moreover, a judicious enlargement of the missionary field will swell the amount of missionary feeling in the church, and so increase rather than diminish the capital. We need variety to stimulate every mind and to keep up the tone of interest. Scholars, particularly, will be more interested in reports from Italy, or any country bordering on the Mediterranean, than any other part of the world. It is true the American continent has a first claim—Africa next; but we must send our apostles to China—and Europe, especially classic Europe, must not be neglected, and least of all Rome. Shall we not say with Paul, "I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also?"

T.

*Chelsea, Mass.*



- ART. II.—1. *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828.* By CAPT. BASIL HALL, R. N. Phila.: Carey, Lea & Carey. 1829.
2. *Domestic Manners of the Americans.* By MRS. TROLLOPE. London: printed for Whittaker, Treacher & Co. 1832.
3. *Men and Manners in America.* By the Author of *Cyril Thornton*, &c. Phila.: Carey, Lea & Blanchard. 1833.
4. *A Subaltern's Furlough.* By E. T. COKE, Lieut. of the 45th Regiment. New-York: J. & J. Harper. 1833.
5. *Society in America.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU, Author of "Illustrations of Political Economy." New-York: Saunders & Otley. 1837.
6. *Retrospect of Western Travel.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. London: Saunders & Otley. 1838.
7. *A Diary in America; with Remarks on its Institutions.* By CAPT. MARRYAT, C. B. Phila.: Carey & Hart. 1839.
8. *Second Series of a Diary in America.* By CAPT. MARRYAT, C. B. Phila.: T. K. & P. G. Collins. 1840.
9. *American Notes for general Circulation.* By CHAS. DICKENS. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1842.

"An energetic and enterprising people," observeth the sage Capt. Marryat, "are naturally anxious for an investigation into cause and effect; a search into which is, after all, nothing but curiosity well directed: and the most curious of all men is the philosopher. Curiosity, *therefore*, becomes a virtue, or a small vice, according to the use made of it."

If this remark be correct, we infer that the British public must be particularly given to philosophical research, or they must include inquisitiveness among their easily besetting sins. Since the close of the last war, not a year has past during which there have not been divers tourists, duly equipped for the work, traversing our land for something wherewith to ravish the curious ears of their countrymen at home. Their efforts have been distinguished by the most commendable activity and perseverance. In the ardor of their search, they have hunted through every town, scaled every mountain, and sailed up every river. Nor have they been less active mentally than physically. Nothing can exceed the celerity with which they reason upon the marvels that met their eyes during their wanderings. They pass from a particular to a general with a careless ease, well calculated to astonish the timid logician; and,

with daring agility, leap from premises to conclusions, which, to common eyes, seem separated by an impassable gulf. Such gigantic labors could not go unrewarded. Some travelers, indeed, have returned to their own land under the impression that we enjoy a degree of freedom and happiness; and that we are destined, from our native energy of character, and our favorable position among the nations, to exert some influence upon the future destiny of the world. But others have been so fortunate as to escape all these delusions, and have assured their countrymen, that, under the combined influence of climate and republican institutions, we are rapidly decreasing in mental, moral, and physical stature, and are already far below the nations of Europe. Indeed, the dolorous reflections of some would almost lead us to imagine that the Americans have so deplorably degenerated, that in a few years they will be able to boast a "re-annexation" of the appendage with which Lord Monboddo supposed that the whole human race had once been adorned.

There have been tourists, however, who have been tolerably free from what we are led, possibly by our own predilections, to condemn as prejudices. Being men of enlarged minds, they have looked upon us with the eye of the philosopher. Not expecting absolute perfection in any nation, they have not been surprised to find that republicanism does not save from all the ills that flesh is heir to, and that America is not an Eden where primeval innocence holds sway, and beauty and happiness without alloy bloom upon every cheek and light every eye. What they deemed commendable, they have praised without reluctance; what they considered reprehensible, they have condemned without fear: and we honor them for their liberality and honesty. We confess that we have national faults, and we will not be indignant because foreigners can detect them as well as ourselves. Let us listen to all just criticism, and lift our eyes to the heights yet unattained, instead of being wholly absorbed in admiration of our present position.

But most of those travelers who have seen fit to give the world the benefit of their lucubrations have been those who had some ulterior object in view. Their hearts were fully set in them to make a book; and the great inquiry has been for the vendible, rather than the true. And the strong curiosity of the English public has afforded ample opportunity for writers of almost any calibre to strike a blow for fame and profit. These small gentry go up and down our land noting petty incidents, and gathering up fragments of gossip, of which the forth-coming volumes are to be fabricated. The greatest economy is employed in the consumption of material.

The number of smokers in the tap-room of an inn furnishes a paragraph ; a dinner, underdone, or overdone, fills a page ; and a jaunt to some unknown village, where they see nothing, is swelled into a chapter. Anything that will attract notice adds to the success of their performance. And, therefore, knowing the sensitiveness of some of the less considerate Americans, and the jealousy of the less liberal English, they season very highly with sneer, sarcasm, and malignant misrepresentation.

We are not at all offended when they declare their preference for their native land. The affections are not the creation of mere reason ; they wait not for the labored deductions of the intellect, but spring up fresh and pure from the well of the heart. Men love their children, their native village, their country,—not because these are all perfect in their kind, but because to love them belongs to nature. The mother is not called upon to check the emotions of parental tenderness, until she has compared her child with those of her neighbors, and ascertained that its superiority absolutely demands her preference. Nor is she compelled, in order to justify her admiration of its person, to prove that its features are molded in accordance with Hogarth's line of beauty, and that all its attitudes are governed by the line of grace. A man may have some regard for himself, without proving his way with that logical accuracy which

“ Can distinguish and divide

A hair 'twixt south and south-west side.”

And, indeed, we have often admired the kind provision of nature, who, whenever she is rather parsimonious in the allotment of her gifts, generally *compensates* the deficiency, as Paley would express it, by bestowing upon the individual a degree of self-complacency sufficient to keep him in blissful ignorance of his inferiority. And when we see a man thus well pleased with what nature has given, we do not feel like bringing him down from his exaltation by any skeptical remark, but would rather take him by the hand and congratulate him most fervently upon the exceedingly comfortable opinion he entertains of his own abilities. Still, when we see men, or nations, cherishing so exalted a degree of ill-natured vanity as to lead them to exult perpetually in their immeasurable pre-eminence above all others, we cannot but regard it as a lamentable perversion of the bounties of Providence.

This last remark is in some degree applicable to certain travelers who have condescended to sojourn for a time upon this side of the Atlantic. The Halls, the Trollopes, and the Marryats, seem gifted



with an inverse mental alchemy which transmutes all our republican gold into dross. But there have been writers upon America, compared with whom Hall was a Bacon, and Marryat an Aristides. A certain M. De Paw, a Prussian, among other absurdities, great and small, states, with all gravity, that in this country "the *dogs* suffer so much under the deteriorating influence of the climate that they lose the power of barking;" and he gives us to understand that its influence is full as deleterious upon man. Some infamous "notes by the way" have been written, like Ashe's "Travels through America," under the combined pressure of poverty and a lack of honest employment.\* The worst of the works mentioned at the head of this article may be ranked among the better sort of descriptions of our land. Some of them are extremely defective, but their very defects are exalted into positive excellences, when compared with those of certain others, to one or two of which we have already alluded. But let us notice them more particularly.

Capt. Hall landed at New-York in 1827, traveled through the state to Canada, returned through New-England, visited Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and Charleston; journeyed through Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, ascended the great river to Cincinnati, crossed the Alleghanies to New-York, and returned to England after an absence of fifteen months, "having traveled eight thousand eight hundred miles without meeting with the slightest accident." The worthy captain was a stout English tory; and in this journey among the republicans, a great many wondrous things greeted his loyal eyes, whereon he expends much sage remark. His reasonings, so unutterably grave and profound, are the most amusing part of the work. Occasionally, he sets out with correct premises, and, by some rare good fortune, arrives at a correct conclusion. But most commonly, whenever republicanism is involved in his reasonings, he either comes to conclusions at variance with his premises, or draws inferences which have no visible connection

\* A curious fact, which is given in the published correspondence of Lord Byron, sheds light upon the origin of this libelous publication. Ashe wrote to Byron,—alleging that want had driven him thus to prostitute his pen, and expressing his desire of gaining a livelihood honestly,—and asked for some pecuniary aid to enable him to carry his repentant schemes into effect. The great poet had compassion upon him, and offered the gift of £150, which Murray was to dole out at the rate of £10 a month. He also gives the famished author a little good advice:—"Whatever may be your situation, I cannot but commend your resolution to abjure and abandon the publication and the composition of works such as those to which you have alluded. Depend upon it, they amuse few, disgrace both reader and writer, and benefit none."

with them. Still, the captain has hardly, as yet, received his just due with us. He has some excellences as well as many faults. It is true, he is a stout tory, and travels through our land, as good Calvinistic Dr. Scott travels through the Scriptures, with his creed ever before his eyes. Yet, with all this, there is a certain *bon-homie* apparent, which goes far to disarm resentment. He is never out of humor with the republicans, his prejudices in favor of royalty being a shield through which no dart could reach him. There is a degree of self-complacency which borders upon the sublime; and the captain was evidently blessed with it. The convictions of other minds never troubled his peace. Very few men are perfectly sane upon all subjects; and his hallucination was upon the subject of democracy: but he was a harmless lunatic. He never willfully distorts facts, but contents himself with reasoning upon what he sees, till he loses himself in a fog of his own creation. His compassion is worthy of all praise. When he deems himself called upon to make an assertion which he supposes may wound our vanity, he does not inflict it at once, with malignant eagerness, as some others, but prepares the reader for it by a dull preface, which, the first time it occurs, amuses by its solemn commonplaces. The great fault of his style is prolixity; and these long, prosy preliminaries have a wonderfully sedative effect upon the reader. Like the manipulations of Mesmeric surgery, they seem designed by the benevolent captain to induce a state of happy insensibility to the pain of the operation.

Some of his statements are rather remarkable. He assures his readers that the Americans are a very grave, formal race of men, versatile and energetic, but eternally immersed in elections and litigation. He also states that we are most deplorably given to the use of intoxicating liquors. But he had the rare sagacity to discover the cause of this latter evil.

"Dram-drinking has been called the natural child and the boon-companion of democracy; and is probably not less hurtful to health of body, than that system of government appears to be to the intellectual powers."

He expounds the rationale of the matter thus:—

"In a country where all effective power is placed in the hands of the lowest class of the community, the characteristic habits of that class must of necessity predominate."—Vol. i, p. 261.

Here he takes it for granted that the majority which rules must include the lowest class, and be composed principally of that class: and his discovery resolves itself into this:—The characteristic

habits of the majority must predominate ;—whatever is, *is*. But we must not lay violent hands upon this exquisite specimen of reasoning, or insinuate that his facts are apocryphal. To refute the arguments of the sage captain would be as great an insult to our readers, as it would be to explain his witticisms. We may add, however, that this is a tolerably fair example of the style in which he pack-saddles our system of government, and piles on all manner of enormities.

Mrs. Trollope, upon whom so many anathemas have been expended, arrived in this country about six months after the arrival of Capt. Hall, and remained here between three and four years. She first landed with her family at New-Orleans, where she remained a few days, and made sundry observations upon the manners and customs of the people, neither of which proved remarkably agreeable to her taste. Thence she sailed up the river to Cincinnati, where she commenced the great work which she came to achieve,—the establishment of a bazaar ; or, as it is called in the Yankee vulgate, a fancy-store. She first erected a building, which Mr. Hamilton describes as a Græco-Moresco-Gothic-Chinese structure. Capt. Marryat, after an attentive survey of this extraordinary apparition, pronounced it of that “order of architecture which may be styled the preposterous.” The bazaar was finally completed and went into operation. In the mean time Mrs. Trollope was exploring the city and the regions round about, gathering the materials for her description of the “Domestic Manners of the Americans.” She found her residence among the “free-borns” anything but agreeable. The streets were muddy and filled with swine, living and dead. The people were all ignorant and boorish, the women being very childish and pious, and the men “redolent of whisky and onions.” Moreover, she was “taken sick, as the Americans call being unwell,” and when somewhat convalescent, had an opportunity of testing the relative worth of English and American literature. She read the whole of Cooper’s novels. The consequence was an immediate relapse, and an “additional ounce of calomel hardly sufficed to neutralize the effect of these raw-head and bloody-bones adventures.” Then a “happy thought struck her,” and she read the whole series of the Waverley novels, as the next prescription—not a homœopathic dose, certainly. She immediately began to recover: the “wholesome vigor of every page seemed to communicate itself to her nerves,” and “when it was over she had the pleasure of finding that she could walk half-a-dozen yards at a time.”

When she recovered, she was greeted with the fact that the



bazaar speculation was a hopeless affair, and must be abandoned. The cause of the failure is not given; but the truth of the case is, Mrs. Trollope's eldest son, who was the manager of the business department, was, in accordance with Capt. Hall's theory, overcome by the powerful influence of republican institutions! She therefore left Cincinnati in March, 1830, crossed the Alleghanies to Maryland, traveled through the northern and eastern states, and at the expiration of about a year returned to England and published her book. The work shows her by no means destitute of talent. There is a ready command of language—of plain, nervous Saxon—which is a merit in a literary point of view. Its defects are moral, rather than intellectual. Like Miss Martineau, Mrs. Trollope possesses wit, and a keen perception of the ridiculous; but she uses her powers to annoy rather than to please. In fact, she is a Martineau after the acetous fermentation. She adores England; and looks upon America with a sort of cool, malignant, fiendish scorn; we would set her down as the very incarnation of Johnson's idea of a good hater. We are very forcibly reminded of the "stupid, bigoted contempt of everything foreign," which a certain countryman of Mrs. Trollope, traveling in the Levant, declares characteristic of English *servants*. There are descriptions, absolutely beyond belief, of scenes which our fair author alledges that she saw with her own eyes; such, for instance, as the account of the "revival" in the "principal Presbyterian church in Cincinnati." But with all her faults, she told us some truths which we would do well to heed. Her charges are, at times, like her favorite department of literature, founded on fact, and are but caricatures of evils that have a real existence. And, in fine, we conclude, that had the gimcracks and confections gone off better in the bazaar speculation, this book would never have been written, or would have been very different in its tone.

A few months before the western hemisphere was deprived of the presence of this amiable lady, another hunter after foreign marvels arrived in the person of Mr. T. Hamilton. Like his illustrious predecessor, he was given to dreams and works of imagination; but he was a producer as well as a consumer. He had already written his "Cyril Thornton." Mrs. Trollope did not make any attempt, we believe, till her volume of travels was given to the public. She then published the "Refugee in America," in which she dispenses her sarcasm and bitter ridicule with all the ardor and liberality of one who has just discovered her *forte*, and is fully resolved to make the most of it.

Mr. Hamilton manifests some anxiety to impress the world with

the important fact that he considers himself a gentleman. He may have been one in conventionals, for aught we know, but he gives rather equivocal proof of his being endowed with any extraordinary elevation of mind. Like Capt. Hall, he views everything with loyal optics; but he shows a recklessness of assertion not very creditable in one of such lofty pretensions as he puts forth. He had a very important end in view. He had heard certain ignorant men in the reformed parliament quote the experience of the United States, as furnishing precedents for English legislation; and he then "certainly did feel that another work on America was yet wanted." And, moreover, he certainly did feel that he, T. Hamilton, Esq., was the gentleman destined to furnish this desideratum. He tells us that the Americans are fast degenerating; their government is an utter failure, and there is nothing upon which to rest a hope for its permanence. Our congressmen are not gentlemen; and our citizens are entirely absorbed in business, politics, and tobacco. The New-Englanders, in particular, "are not an amiable people." "Nature, in forming a Yankee, seems to have given him double brains and half a heart." We are generally afflicted with various minor defects. We are inordinately vain, and should bless our protective vanity, even as Sancho Panza pronounces a benediction upon the man who first invented sleep. Our ladies are very beautiful,—till the age of one or two-and-twenty. The gentlemen are "somewhat slouching in gait," "very expeditious bolters of dinner," and talk politics evermore in a tone of voice "partaking of a snivel and a drawl, by no means laudable on the score of euphony."

However, he was not willing to incur the displeasure of the Americans by a public expression of his opinions concerning them, until driven to it by pure love of country. And even now he is, doubtless, comforting himself with the sublime assurance, that he has shed a deluge of information upon many abstruse questions in political economy, and thereby turned multitudes of deluded liberals from the error of their ways. He confesses that his strictures are calculated to offend, but pleads patriotism in extenuation; and if his country is in as sore need of such a libel upon free institutions as he seems to imagine, let us verily don the panoply for which he so commends us, and bear his castigations with all long-suffering and patience.

A short time after the departure of the patriotic Mr. Hamilton, another writer of travels came over the wide ocean to look upon the "free-borns." This was Lieut. Coke of the British army. This gentleman is a very poetical personage; and each successive chapter is ushered in with a grand flourish of trumpets from Shakspeare,

Pope, or Byron. Although he is not so extremely careful to impress us with the extraordinary fact of his being a gentleman, as the patriotic, single-minded Mr. Hamilton, he shows that he possesses much more of the reality. Perhaps he writes in better style, because he is not burdened with the consciousness that he carries with him the fate of the new parliament. At all events, he does not possess in the same degree the "stupid, bigoted contempt for everything foreign." This book, upon the whole, is a very entertaining one, written in good temper and tolerably good style.

Miss Harriet Martineau, a very philosophic lady, arrived in this country in 1834, and remained two years. On her return she published her adventures and reflections in two different works, which she entitles, "*Views of Society in America*," and "*Retrospect of Western Travel*." These are, in general, very favorable to the Americans; and perhaps that is the reason why we think them the most correct and interesting of our array of delineations of American character. She, too, traveled with her theory before her eyes. But her system was one of mildness and benevolence. It may be well described by one of her own expressive phrases,—"*heart-faith in man*." She, indeed, pushed her theory to an extreme, which reminds us of the fantasies of the French declaimers during the great Revolution: but in her, the only result was to cause her to feel an intense joy in all that was commendable in man, and to look with the utmost tenderness upon his frailties. Although a most decided ultraist in abolition principles, she indulges in none of the fierce denunciation which has distinguished some of her associates in opinion. She had the good fortune to discover that her theory, touching the dignity of human nature and the value of human happiness, was susceptible of being applied to the master, as well as the slave,—a fact which some of our reformers seem, in some cases, rather to overlook. And with all her predilection for traversing the debateable regions of political science, Miss Martineau preserved the freshness of the kindly affections; and she appears equally in her element when discussing her free-trade principles with grave senators, or preparing a German Christmas-tree for the gratification of the youthful members of her friend's family.

The next year after her return to England, our country was honored with a visit of one who possessed not a tithe of the talent of his feminine predecessor. This new explorer of republicanism was Capt. Marryat, the author of divers coarse, vulgar, ninth rate works of fiction. In defiance of all effort to be charitable, we cannot but deem his work a very inferior performance. His style is



beneath criticism; his affectation of candor and truth is beneath contempt; and his reasoning is but a degree or two above that heard in the idiot ward of an asylum. He commences his work with a long disquisition upon books of travels in general, and discourses right eloquently, as he thinks, upon their manifold errors, intimating that he will most assuredly avoid them. On the last page of the former "series" he recurs to the same subject, and informs us that his determination to set down naught in malice, or carelessly, had been strictly carried out; and that he had "not written one line without deliberation and examination." After such magnanimous flourishes as these, the expectations of the reader are justly raised; but he will find the work a worthless affair, without anything original except some new follies. To those who have read the work that heads our list, we may describe Capt. Marryat by saying, that he is a very diminutive Capt. Hall, conscience being subtracted, and a very coarse comic almanac added. He offends against good taste continually; he contradicts all matter of fact, and ends by contradicting his own words. This last, however, is of little moment, as no one will, in any case, receive statements upon his mere assertion. Those who have had the misfortune to read his nautical stories, will recollect his continual ribaldry and profanity. Yet his longest chapter in the first two volumes is upon "Religion in America,"—an instance of unparalleled effrontery since Barère wrote his pious meditations on the Psalms, and Abner Kneeland published his edition of the Greek Testament. He remarks, by the way, that Methodism is "the most pure, most mild, and most simple of all the creeds professed;"—a commendation which we can quote from him, without leading, as far as the sin of vanity is concerned, the most bigoted of our readers into temptation. A modern Democritus, however, may find some amusement in his philosophic speculations. Here is the result of his investigation into the causes of the too general use of spirituous liquors in America:—

"I think that the *climate* is the occasion of two bad habits to which the Americans are prone, namely, the use of tobacco and of spirituous liquors. The system being depressed by the sudden changes, demands stimulus to equalize the pulse."—Vol. ii, pp. 208–9.

"In fact, the climate is one of *extreme excitement*. I had not been a week in the country, before I discovered how impossible it was for a foreigner to drink as much wine or spirits as he could in England."—P. 206.

The exquisite absurdity of this specimen of dialectics would lead us, did it not involve a Hibernicism, to imagine that these passages

were penned before the redoubtable captain discovered the disagreeable necessity of reducing his spirit rations. He also "unhesitatingly pronounces the climate bad," being "enervating to the body;" and then tells his readers in another place, that "there certainly is a most remarkable energy in the American disposition."

The Americans must, indeed, be men of a most marvelous construction, if the material and the immaterial parts of their natures are entirely independent of each other. In most other lands, we believe that the soul and the body possess some reciprocal influence.

However, we do not wish it understood that Capt. Marryat never arrives at a correct conclusion. We have, in at least one instance, a display of astonishing logical acumen. He was conversing with a Canadian settler who had been unused to labor, and who pointed out to him an enormous tree, which had just been felled, as a demonstration of his skill in woodcraft. Capt. Marryat's companion inquired if he had cut it down himself. The reply was that he "had cut through the north half, while his boys cut through the south." The acute captain straightway fell to reasoning upon the matter; his premise being the important fact that two boys, aged thirteen and fourteen years, had cut half through the tree. His powers did not fail him at this crisis: after due meditation, he arrives at a conclusion which he delivers with the most ponderous gravity:—

"This was really astonishing: for if the two boys had cut through half the tree, it is evident that they could have cut it down altogether."  
—Vol. i, p. 180.

The sagacious captain makes many discoveries in his exploring expedition among the republicans. He ascertained that our climate is "demoralizing," and that our government is "demoralizing" also, producing dueling, avarice, irreligion, and a multitude of other evils; and he then gives his opinion, that "democracy is the form of government best suited to the present condition of America." He also discovers another thing which had escaped his worthy predecessors. "There is no theatre in Connecticut. The consequence is, that Connecticut is the dullest, most disagreeable state in the Union."—Vol. i, p. 122. But it is needless to multiply quotations. The truth is, that Capt. Marryat took advantage of the public thirst for information concerning America, and attempted to palm off a worthless book upon his countrymen;—for he kindly tells us that he is not writing to be read here, but at home. To sum up the character of this work, we can say that the original part of it is

a compound of the reasoning of the nursery, and the wit and refinement of the galleys.

In the year 1842 we were honored with a flying visit from another of the scribbling fraternity. "Having pumped his imagination dry," as somebody remarks, Mr. Charles Dickens came to America to lay in a new store of material for future use. That there are some excellences in the productions of this author, no judge of nervous English can deny. He writes with all the strength of that most unpoetical of men, Wm. Cobbett, without any of his boorish coarseness. And this particular work is not without some excellences. Some passages are written with much force, and the general style is by no means devoid of beauty. There is, moreover, an exquisite vein of wide humanity running through his work; and this, we confess, we hold in high estimation. Still, we cannot say that these "Notes" deserve a very high place among works of a similar class. If we were to estimate Mr. Dickens from this work alone, we would pronounce him a man of narrow capacity. He is too much absorbed in the contemplation of petty matters. He dedicates his book "to those of his friends in America who can bear the truth:"—an announcement which, after reading the work, one hardly knows how to understand. The reader finds very little truth that was worth the telling, and his mind wavers between the conviction that this formal dedication is an example of cool effrontery, and the suspicion that it is an instance of the grave facetiousness for which the style of Mr. Dickens is noted. He is not the man to furnish an instructive book of travels. A calm, judicious portrayal of society can hardly be expected of an author who has applied all his mental energies to the setting forth of caricatures. It would be more rational to look for a perfect portrait from Cruikshank, than a just description of every-day life, and every-day people, from the pen of Dickens. He wields the wand of a magician, but his magic circle is a very small one. In his tour, he views everything through a Bozzian atmosphere. He wanders about among the people, but never witnesses an ordinary scene, or hears an ordinary conversation. All is strained and unnatural. And it is questionable whether he does not describe the swine as possessing more intelligence than the people. Indeed, these fascinating brutes were honored with much of his attention; upon them he cast the pearls of his eloquence, and for their misfortunes he cherished a deep and lively sympathy. We should judge from his "Notes," that he followed them from street to street, conjecturing their profound meditations, admiring their joyous gambols, and treasuring up the precious memorabilia of their history. However, it is hoped



that none will construe these remarks into a censure on Mr. Dickens for turning his attention to those trivial matters which would have escaped the notice of most men. No such censure is intended. Indeed, we consider it highly commendable in an author to choose a subject perfectly suited to his taste and capacity.

And we are not sure but that an apology may be made for him upon good classic authority. If he directed his attention first to the brutes of a city, and then looked upon the more rational inhabitants thereof, he was certainly following most strictly the example of the incensed Apollo, when he descended from high Olympus to avenge the wrongs of his Chryses.

*Οὐρήας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχετο καὶ κιννασ ἄργους.\**

Even his allusions to his notable boots remind us very forcibly of οἱ εὐκνημίδες Ἀχαιοί.†

In all candor, we must confess that the book falls far below what our expectations had at first been. We do not complain of his strictures upon our national short-comings, although with regard to some evils he does not manifest any great degree of discrimination, and some others he denounces with much severity. The great defect of Mr. Dickens is a certain contractedness of intellect, which incessantly leads him into distorted representations of petty scenes and tedious lamentations over petty grievances. It is emphatically a book of little things.

But in order to learn the degree of importance which should be attached to the commendations or the denunciations of individual tourists, the proper mode would be to compare their statements and conclusions. It may cause some surprise to those who have been accustomed to place much value upon the remarks of foreigners, touching our manners, customs, and country, to learn that there is hardly a subject, great or small, upon which these sapient sight-seers do not differ as widely as the poles. Let us make this comparison. In selecting our field of observation, we will not inquire into the deep under-currents of national character, but choose those things which lie upon the surface, and which we would imagine could be decided almost with a single glance. The first thing which attracts the notice of a traveler is the general appear-

\* "He twang'd his deadly bow,  
And hissing fly the feather'd fates below,  
On mules and dogs the infection first began,  
And last the vengeful arrows fix'd in man."

† "The Greeks renown'd, as Homer writes,  
For well-soled boots, as well as fights."

ance of the country through which he journeys. The ordinary consistency of our tourists upon this point may be illustrated by the following examples :—

"A more unpicturesque country is hardly to be found anywhere than America."—*Hall*, vol. i, p. 134.

"Who is it that says America is not picturesque ? I forget, but surely he never traveled from Utica to Albany."—*Mrs. Trollope*, p. 315.

"The traveler may well be excused for saying, again and again, that the Hudson River can be surpassed by none outside of Paradise."—*Ibid.*, p. 320.

"I was disappointed : the highlands, taken separately, have nothing interesting ; and no single reach of the river possesses any particular beauty."—*Coke*, vol. ii, p. 166.

Here is certainly quite an amusing medley upon a subject which, we would think, does not admit of much contrariety of opinion, or require much depth of discernment. Let us see whether the great river of the west fares any better than the Hudson.

"There is grandeur in the scene."—*Hall*, vol. ii, p. 281.

"Most certainly the Mississippi has neither beauty nor grandeur."—*Hamilton*, vol. ii, p. 98.

"The hateful Mississippi—what words shall describe the great father of waters, who (praise be to Heaven) has no young children like him ! An enormous ditch, running liquid mud six miles an hour !"—*Dickens*, p. 64.

"If there be an excess of mental luxury in this life, it is surely in a voyage up the Mississippi in the bright and leafy month of June."—*Miss Martineau's Retrospect*, vol. ii, p. 25.

If these lucid remarks have enabled the reader to form some idea of the style in which tourists pass judgment upon American scenery, we will proceed to consult them touching the race of human beings that dwell upon these strange shores. They describe them as an amalgam of the most incongruous traits of character. Here is a description of the mood in which brother Jonathan listens to the critical lowings of his bovine visitors :—

"I must do the Americans the justice to say, that they invariably took my remarks in good part, though my opinions, I could see, were often not very flattering."—*Hall*, vol. i, p. 12.

"Never was there so extremely sensitive a person as brother Jonathan. He lashes himself into a violent rage, if any one doubts that his own dear land is not the abode of *all* that is estimable. Mere approval will not do for him ; it must be the most unqualified approbation ; and he thinks that he is in duty bound to consider any national reflection as a personal insult, and to resent it accordingly."—*Coke*, vol. i, p. 153.

"Jonathan may bless his vanity. He is incased in it from top to toe ; it is a panoply of proof which renders him equally invulnerable to ridicule and argument."—*Hamilton*, vol. i, p. 123.

"All the evidence upon the subject that I could collect, went to prove that the people can hear, and do prefer to hear, the truth. It is a crime to withhold it from them, and a double crime to substitute flattery."—*Miss Martineau's Soc.*, vol. i, p. 89.

In default of receiving any aid from these sage decisions, we are compelled to fall back upon our own conclusions. The Americans are a sensitive people, though not to the degree that some have asserted. And there is a rational explanation of the fact, that a denunciatory work upon America attracts more notice than such a production would in some other lands. In England, for instance, a satirical work upon their national follies does not obtain that universal notoriety that it would in our own country. Capt. Hall admits that, could the English become as well acquainted with the ill-natured observations of the Americans, as we are with theirs concerning us, they would manifest the same sensitiveness. He affirms that the coolness and equanimity of his countrymen do not proceed from indifference, but ignorance. There must be some truth in this remark. Doubtless, we have the full benefit of all that is alledged against us. The sarcasm and contempt in which every pettish cockney tourist vents his ill-humor, take the wings of the morning, and fly from the St. Croix to the Sabine, penetrating every nook and corner of our land. And sarcasm is sure to attract tenfold more notice than commendation. We pocket the one with quiet self-complacency, as a debt rightfully belonging to us, and commend the author for his honesty in giving us our just due. The other is looked upon as an infringement of the right of property, a grand larceny; and a hue-and-cry is immediately raised after the unlucky writer of "Notes" who commits it, and a whole nation turn out to chase him down. All denounce the unfairness of the work, when they read the lashing extracts; and, moreover, resolve to read the whole volume. Thus the tide of popular indignation is made to drive the machinery of the author and the publisher. And we verily believe that authors sometimes heap up censure and detraction, not from malice aforethought, nor from honest conviction, but because we pay for abuse with such passing liberality. Miss Martineau gives us a ray of light upon this matter. A New-York publisher wished to negotiate with her for the work which he supposed was forthcoming. She made reply, that as yet she had nothing to publish. "His answer, given with a patronizing air of suggestion, was,—'Why, surely, madam, you need not be at a loss about that, you must have got incident plenty by this time; and then you can Trollopize a bit, and so make a readable book!'"—*Retro-spect*, vol. ii, p. 198.



Thus, the more general diffusion of this class of works tends to present a broader mark for the fiery darts of detraction. No arrow need, like that of Acestes, vanish in smoke for want of an object; and even those discharged from that peculiar style of bow which is the favorite weapon of some, generally prove the arrows of Eurytion, and transfix the game at which they are really aimed, although they may be compelled to soar to the clouds in the pursuit. In our land there are other incidental differences which may have their influence. In some European countries the different classes are separated by lines of demarkation, drawn with almost as much rigidity as those which divide the Hindoo castes. And when one class is satirized, the others feel it not. Dickens may lampoon the *Mutanehs* among the nobility, and the great body of the people feel that they have neither part nor lot in the matter. But in our own country all classes are more intimately blended, and when one member suffers, the whole body suffers with it. We imagine, too, that our government is regarded with more general and fervent love than the systems of many other nations. Mrs. Trollope assures us that she never heard an American say one word in disparagement of republicanism; and travelers tell us that this is the great national idol. If this be correct, then the general sensitiveness of our citizens is not weakness, but strength. We are not careful to answer touching this grave charge. We are well pleased to see an ungenerous sarcasm upon our government, or our countrymen, thrill along every nerve of the body-politic from Maine to Georgia, for we look upon this as a warrant for the stability of our institutions, and the perpetuity of the federal compact. And if this sentiment should, in some individuals, be pushed even to an extreme, we mourn not over it: for this unity of spirit is one of the elements of national strength, and occasional excess is far preferable to general deficiency.

But let us pass on and consult our peripatetic oracles upon another subject—the emotions with which we look upon England, and the reception we give visitors from the “mother country.” They respond as follows:—

“Of a spirit of generous rivalry, and of cordial international respect, there are but feeble traces in our relations with America; and not the slightest spark, I fear, in theirs with us.”—*Hall*, vol. i, p. 227.

“The excessive reverence with which England is regarded by the Americans seems to imply a deficiency of self-respect.”—*Miss Martineau's Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 165.

“There is a national feeling of, I believe, unconquerable dislike which lies at the bottom of every truly American heart against the English.”—*Mrs. Trollope*, p. 132.

"It has often been said,—said, indeed, so often as to have passed into a popular apothegm,—that a strong prejudice against Englishmen exists in America. No assertion, more utterly adverse to truth, was ever palmed by prejudice or ignorance on vulgar credulity. The Americans are only too apt to throw their own partialities into the scale of the Englishman, and give it a preponderance to which the claims of the individual have probably no pretensions."—*Hamilton*, vol. i, p. 72.

"Let not the English be deceived by their asseverations. America, whatever her assertions may be, is deadly hostile to us."—*Marryat's Diary*, 2d. Series, p. 200.

Here is, indeed, as strange a *mélange* of opinion as even King Oberon's favorite messenger could have created with all his mischievous translations. We cannot conceive how some of these opinions were ever formed, unless the tourist considered himself an imbodiment of the dignity and glory of the British empire, and construed the treatment with which he met accordingly. Let us compare them upon this point:—

"The striking effect upon a stranger, of witnessing for the first time the absence of poverty, of gross ignorance, of all servility, of all insolence of manner, cannot be exaggerated in description."—*Miss Martineau's Soc.*, vol. i, p. 20.

"The manners of the poor are tinctured with brutal insolence."—*Mrs. Trollope*, p. 253.

"I never, even in mixing with the *canaille*, observed any impropriety, or, during the whole time that I was in America, received the slightest insult from (what I will term) the lower orders; and to which individuals, especially foreigners, are so subject in my native country."—*Coke*, vol. i, p. 34.

"They insulted and annoyed me from nearly one end of the Union to the other."—*Marryat*, vol. i, p. 9.

Poor Capt. Marryat appears to have been peculiarly unfortunate. He and his worthy companion in tribulation, Mrs. Trollope, are the only tourists in our list who attribute insolence to the Americans. All who mention the matter testify to their uniform civility. But the captain experienced another peculiar misfortune, as his own testimony will demonstrate, when compared with that of others.

"Everywhere in America, I found an absence of all idle concealments."—*Hall*, vol. i, p. 291.

"No people in the world can be more frank, confiding, and affectionate, or more liberal in communicating information than I have ever found the Americans to be."—*Miss Martineau's Pref. to Soc.*, p. 12.

"This was American all over; they would conceal the truth, and then blame us because we do not find it out."—*Marryat*, vol. i, p. 80.

Unhappy Capt. Marryat! His travels were a continual scene of affliction. He had come to America with the sole intent of con-

cocting another book, and the obstinate Americans not only refused to give him their confidence, but persecuted him even unto strange cities. In one of the western towns, so he tells us, they went so far as even to honor him with a grand parade in effigy. The solution of this anomaly is this: the captain had made a great blunder in choosing the land whereon to exercise his *insanabile cacoëthes scribendi*. He ought to have gone to some place where he was not known. His nautical fictions had gone over the land, and their day had passed away. Even those who were most amused by them, had no great respect for the author; and multitudes held him in utter contempt. The very circumstance which gave rise to the exclamation we have quoted, throws light upon the matter. He was traveling on board a canal-boat, "where, for the first time since his arrival in the country, no one knew who he was." Here, under cover of his *incognito*, he fell into conversation with a "very agreeable person," and talked, the whole day, upon the institutions of the country. But in an evil hour, Capt. Marryat revealed himself by presenting his card; and it appears from his own version of the affair, that the very agreeable stranger unceremoniously dropped the acquaintance, with the not remarkably flattering remark, that "had he known with whom he was conversing, he would not have spoken so freely." "This was American all over," adds the captain; but it does not appear that the stranger was either more or less of an American after the revelation, than previous to it: the change was caused by discovering the name of his curious examiner. He, doubtless, knew him to be a foreigner before the unhappy disclosure.

Mrs. Trollope, also, complains of the "brutal insolence" of a certain class of Americans; but we imagine that she would have found some difficulty in finding a country upon the face of the globe where so petulant, ill-natured a woman would be dignified with the title of "lady," instead of the ungracious appellation of "old woman," which the uncourtly Yankees applied to her.

It is somewhat amusing to follow these sage tourists in their cogitations. If they detect any peculiarity of manner or expression in individuals, almost the first step of their logic is to attribute these peculiarities to the whole nation. It is "American all over." Some of them are nearly as apt in generalizing as was the sagacious traveler in Salmagundi, who, observing that the host of a village inn had lost one of his eyes, straightway noted it down in his journal: "Mem. The inhabitants of this town have but one eye." Having thus decided that the individual is the type of the whole nation, and that things of which perhaps ninety-nine of every hundred Americans



never heard, are characteristic of the entire people, they proceed in equally rational style to explore the cause of these universal effects. If the tourist be an English tory, the cause is found at once; democracy is the scape-goat upon which the national sins are laid. Whatever is commendable is very coolly attributed to the Puritans or the first emigrants, who, indeed, fled from monarchy, but imported the virtues which flourish under no other form of government. Capt. Hall traced the general use of intoxicating liquors to our peculiar institutions; and Mrs. Trollope, relating the history of one of her "helps," whose "natural disposition must have been gentle and kind," assures us that her "good feelings were soured" by the false doctrines of a republic. Thus, almost every evil that exists in our land has been ascribed to our institutions, although the most amusing discrepancies are continually occurring in the logical chain by which they educe these alledged results.

But let us proceed with our examples of the opinions of our foreign visitors. Upon the subject of physical development they decide thus:—

"In stature and physiognomy a great majority of the population, both male and female, are strikingly handsome."—*Mrs. Trollope*, p. 242.

"It must be acknowledged that the American women are the prettiest in the world."—*Marryat*, vol. i, p. 68.

"Unfortunately, beauty in this climate is not durable. Like the ghosts of 'Banquo's fated line,' it comes like a shadow, and so departs. At one or two-and-twenty the bloom of an American lady is gone."—*Hamilton*, vol. i, p. 23.

"Upon first landing, I was much struck with the personal appearance of the Americans, [the men] as being tall, slim, narrow-shouldered, and narrow-chested, with high cheek-bones, and sharp, sallow features. I think narrow shoulders and sharp features may be deemed characteristic of the Atlantic states; one never seeing any such sturdy, robust, rosy-faced, John Bull sort of people as Britain produces."—*Coke*, vol. i, p. 34.

That there is something in the climate, or our mode of life, or in the fusion of many nations into one people, that has wrought a change in the persons of the Americans, whereby they differ in some degree from the nations from which they have descended, is most abundantly proved by the testimony of our own countrymen, as well as of foreigners. Dr. Durbin intimates this, when he gives his first impressions of the French, on landing at Havre:—"Coming immediately from New-York, I could not but remark the contrast, in point of physical health and vigor, between the crowds you meet in the streets of that city, and the swarms we now encountered. Their elastic movements, fine, fresh complexions, and well-developed

persons, betokened high health and great enjoyment of life." He adds the remark that this superiority of *physique* is, doubtless, owing to their cheerful mode of living, and to their constant exercise in the open air. As far as the ladies are concerned, Dr. Durbin's opinion is corroborated by that of no less a personage than Mrs. Frances Butler, who unhesitatingly ascribes their pale complexions to their mode of life; and, in her romping style, tells them to eat less cakes and confections, and take more exercise out of doors. These things are not without their effect; but are they sufficiently prevalent to give rise to a *national* characteristic? We imagine that the dry climate of this country would, in itself, produce a race somewhat different, at least in outward appearance, from those who breathe the humid atmosphere of England. However, if it be so, it does not follow that we are degenerating in real stamina. Cobbett, as a reason why the Americans were victorious over the English in certain well-matched contests, during the wars, assigns the fact that the American soldiers, man for man, were physically superior to their antagonists.

It was a favorite idea of some philosophers, that on the western continent man's intellectual powers had dwindled most lamentably. On this great subject our tourists express themselves thus:—

"There is certainly no want of intellect. The Americans appear to me to have clear heads and active intellects; are more ignorant on subjects that are only of conventional value, than on such as are of intrinsic importance."—*Mrs. Trollope*, p. 56.

"As a whole, the nation is probably better informed than any other entire nation."—*Miss Martineau's Soc.*, vol. i, p. 13.

"I have no hesitation in asserting that there is more practical information among the Americans, than among any other people under the sun."—*Marryat*, vol. ii, p. 218.

"None but a very intelligent population could be carried away to flatter and applaud a man who has neither rank, wealth, nor power, but is simply a man of genius."—*Lyell*, vol. i, p. 159.

Capt. Marryat even goes so far as to assert that foreigners in this country can hardly compete with the natives, in many of the walks of life in which mind comes in contact with mind, and the more acute and better informed come off victorious. But the captain, like his well-known seafaring comrade Sinbad, while steering for the port of truth, occasionally makes a vast amount of leeway. We may state, however, that some of those tourists who grant the possession of good intellectual powers, have qualified their praise by adding that the national mind has not been cultivated as it should be in the department of taste and imagination; and that American intellect is absorbed in the contemplation of the sub-

stantial, to the exclusion of the purely ornamental. There may be some ground for this remark, if we judge entirely by what the Americans have actually accomplished, in the way of splendid edifices and in the founding of those great institutions for the cultivation of the fine arts, of which some of the European nations can boast. But with us, the time of these things is not yet. It would be transcending the powers granted by their several constitutions, for the general or state governments to employ the public funds for the purpose, in imitation of Rome and France; and a Louvre or a Vatican is hardly within the reach of any voluntary combination of individuals. In the literary world, we acknowledge that comparatively little attention has been paid to those works which may be classed among mental luxuries; but we will not admit that we have been at all deficient in those which form the real aliment of the soul. In nations the law of individuals is reversed, and reason comes to maturity before imagination and the love of the fine arts.

With regard to another endowment, the Americans are thus described:—

"I never saw a population so divested of all gayety: there is no trace of this feeling from one end of the Union to the other."—*Mrs. Trollope*, p. 171.

"There is not a more imaginative people existing. They prefer broad humor, and delight in the hyperbole."—*Marryat*, 2d. Series, p. 142.

"They certainly are not a humorous people, and their temperament always impressed me as being of a dull and gloomy character."—*Dickens*, p. 91.

"The only time when I felt disposed to quarrel with the inexhaustible American mirth was on the hottest days of summer. I liked it as well as ever; but European strength will not stand more than an hour or two of laughter in such seasons. I cannot conceive how it is that so little has been heard in England of the mirth of the Americans; for certainly nothing in their manners struck and pleased me more. One of the rarest characters among them, and a great treasure to all his sportive neighbors, is a man who cannot take a joke."—*Miss Martineau's Retrospect*, vol. ii, p. 184.

"The Kentuckians are the only Americans who can understand a joke."—*Hamilton*, vol. ii, p. 93.

Here is certainly as ludicrous a mélange of opinions as could be desired, even if it were penned for the express purpose of cultivating the organ of mirthfulness. And yet our peripatetic oracles all lay down their irreconcilable propositions with unutterable gravity. And the doleful groans of some of our countrymen at the misrepresentations of writers who differ from each other, *toto cælo*, are, if possible, a still more powerful stimulant to the sense of the



ludicrous. But let us not torture these poor authors without cause. We doubt not but that the Americans really appeared to them as they have described them. A sour, bitter "old woman," as Mrs. Trollope's writings seem to prove her to be, might travel from the river unto the ends of the earth, and never see a smile, except, perhaps, a stray one intended for somebody else. And another tourist, like Miss Martineau, who appears to be endowed with that pliability of mental constitution which enabled her, with equal ease, to discuss political economy with statesmen, and create all sorts of fun for the amusement of her companions, would conclude the "free-borns" a less gloomy people than Mrs. Trollope had imagined. Capt. Marryat qualifies his remark by adding, that although the Americans are fond of broad humor, they cannot comprehend refined, acute wit. How the captain should discover this, even allowing its truth, passes our calculation; as this very deficiency is notoriously his own. He is fond of humor, and makes prodigious efforts to be witty; but it is all of the low comedy order: and even then his witticisms, although concocted with so much labor, do not afford a tithe of the amusement which springs from the perusal of his profound reasonings. However, a blind philosopher once lectured upon optics.

With regard to what is called in common phrase *disposition*, our witnesses testify pretty unanimously. Capt. Hall, and of course his satellite, Capt. Marryat, declare the Americans a "very good-tempered people." Miss Martineau discourses thus:—

"If I am asked what is the peculiar charm, I reply with some hesitation: there are so many. But I believe it is not so much the outward plenty, or the mutual freedom, or the incessant play of humor, which characterizes the whole people, as the sweet temper which is diffused like sunshine over the land. They have been called the most good-tempered people in the world, and I think they must be so."—*Soc. in America*, vol. ii, p. 188.

If the Americans are as fond of flattery as some have asserted, these admissions ought to put even the few cynics among us in as good a humor as Diogenes doubtless felt when Alexander no longer stood between him and the sun. Miss Martineau attributes this peculiarity to our republican institutions, which render the Saxon race more amiable here than in some other regions. The theory of our government demands "reverence for man, as man." Capt. Marryat, with all his horror of republicanism and antiquated spinsters, here agrees with Miss Martineau, although he avoids mentioning her name, while he repeats her argument. The free-booter, however, generally erases all trace of former ownership.

But a mere theory would hardly keep a whole nation in good humor for half a century, nor would the abstract truth that "all men are by nature free and equal" have any very powerful effect in curbing passion. There are influences at work, however, which repress the insolence of office and of wealth. The politician knows that the humblest citizen can aid in exalting him to the station he covets, or in defeating his aspirations; and it is therefore his interest to conciliate him by urbanity. And demagogues, like their great prototype, Absalom, who, when any "came to do him obeisance, took him and kissed him," well know that this is the way to "steal the hearts of the men of Israel." Another corrective of outward deportment is found in our universal prosperity. The theory may render men more restiff under oppression, but nothing but mutual dependence, and independence, can repress haughtiness upon the one hand, and save on the other from cringing servility, or from that defensive insolence which turns at bay. Whatever peculiar good temper the Americans may possess is more the product of their real social equality, than of their abstract metaphysics.

But we might collect an indefinite amount of counter assertions by continuing our collation of what, if all true, would be parallel passages. Miss Martineau declares the manners of the Americans "the best she ever saw;" Mrs. Trollope declares the manners of certain classes "tinged with brutal insolence, by this empty assumption of equality;" while Lieut. Coke is astonished at their universal civility of demeanor. Miss Martineau tells us that the Americans are not so prone to overestimate wealth as the English; while Capt. Marryat assures us that the love of money is our grand distinguishing trait of character; but with his usual acuteness, accounts for it from the fact that we have a president instead of a queen. Mr. Dickens, when traveling in the railway train, tells us that "everybody talks to you, or to any one else who hits his fancy;" and Mr. Lyell, also, on the railway, tells us that "the Americans address no conversation to strangers;" disposing of the matter in a parenthesis, as if it were already known of all men. One will declare a certain city a perfect paradise; another describe the same city as a complete purgatory. Mrs. Trollope was so delighted with the beauty of one of the public buildings of Philadelphia, that she was accustomed to gather all her family and go, again and again, to contemplate, by moonlight, its magnificent proportions. Mr. Dickens, viewing the same structure, tells us that it has a "mournful, ghostlike aspect, dreary to behold;" but that his wonder at its dreariness vanished when he learned that it was that "tomb of many fortunes, the great catacomb of investment,

the United States Bank." But all this effort to raise a ghost is evidently made to give the more force to the epithets that follow. Irving shrewdly conjectures that, in Homer's wars, many a tall, good-looking Greek and Trojan was barbarously cut down and trampled in the dust, because he happened to have the proper mixture of longs and shorts in his name, to make it jingle in the poem. Mr. Dickens sometimes turns aside a little from the truth, to lay a train for a witticism.

But if our tourists are unfaithful in that which is least, it were folly unutterable to attach any great importance to either their satire or their commendations. In England there are, at this moment, two great antagonistic parties in existence;—those who believe that the people can govern themselves, and those who look with real alarm upon every accession to the popular influence in the state. And here many of the discrepancies of travelers have originated. If the tourist is of the liberal party, he will, like Miss Martineau, be disposed to look favorably upon the nation who are proving the soundness of his own principles. If he stands committed to the opposite faction, he dons the whole armor of his prejudices, declares everything public and private most certainly wrong in America, and returns home in deep despondency at the delusion of supposing the suffrages of two millions of well-informed freemen better presumptive evidence of a statesman's ability to rule, than the fact that somebody's ancestor did something nine centuries ago. We should remember, therefore, when a Hall or a Hamilton opens his battery, that although the shells are apparently aimed point-blank at us, they are intended to explode on the other side of the Atlantic.

Upon one point, however, our tourists are perfectly unanimous.

"All over America, even in those parts which have enjoyed the least advantages in the way of civilization and refinement, the women are treated with much kindness by the men."—*Hall*, vol. i, p. 297.

"I never once, on any occasion, anywhere, during my rambles in America, saw a woman exposed to the slightest act of rudeness, incivility, or even inattention."—*Dickens*, p. 56.

"One of the first peculiarities that must strike a foreigner in the United States, is the deference universally paid to the sex, without regard to station."—*Lyell*, vol. i, p. 57.

This candid statement, to which we can oppose no counter assertion, ought to console the lachrymose patriots who bewail the deep depravity of those travelers who charge our citizens with being great consumers of tobacco, "very expeditious bolters of dinner," and with sundry cognate enormities. We value such



a state of things more highly than we would the national reputation of executing bows of the exact degree of curvature recommended by Chesterfield. Capt. Hall, however, adds the remark that, although the sex are treated with the greatest outward respect, yet they have but little influence in society. He attended the great cattle-show in Massachusetts, and was "struck to the heart," as he pathetically expresses it, by the appalling fact that there were no ladies present to stare at the assemblage of bipeds and quadrupeds. But the gallant captain was not so overcome with grief as to be incapable of displaying his notable logic upon this most deplorable circumstance. After passing the fact through a sleight-of-hand process, he evolves two important inferences, to wit:—that the influence of the women is very feeble, and that this feebleness is owing to our republican institutions! The conclusion is about as correct as the premises, under the operation of the captain's acumen, would lead us to expect.

But we must leave our travelers to pursue their journey alone. We have not consulted them upon any point which requires profound research, or much depth of discernment. We have not touched upon the subject of government, morals, and religion, partly because we hope, upon some future occasion, to give these a more extended notice than present circumstances will admit, and partly for the reason that few of the authors upon whom we have been remarking have advanced much truth worth repeating, or much error that possesses sufficient plausibility to entitle it to the honor of a refutation. We are not bold enough to attempt to make bricks without straw; and hope that our readers will not rigidly enforce a demand that roused the spirit of rebellion, even in the peaceful land of Egypt.

We have compared their assertions upon a few matters which we would suppose most easily decided, and have found them a mass of counter statements and counter conclusions. This demonstrates the absurdity of undue sensibility with respect to the opinions of foreign "pencilers by the way." Even studied misrepresentations are of little moment. They certainly cannot destroy our confidence in our system of government. And if they are credited abroad, although they may somewhat retard the progress of liberal opinion, yet the most important direct consequence to us will be perhaps to lessen the tide of immigration. Whether, or not, this is a consummation devoutly to be wished, we leave to our readers to decide according to their own convictions.

It may not be out of place to offer, in conclusion, a remark upon another subject which has been frequently alluded to, especially by







military tourists. Some of them evidently imagine that when our rapidly increasing power shall have attained a certain degree, we, as other nations have been, shall be drawn into the whirlpool of warlike ambition. They look upon us as if we were to be judged as the despotisms of Europe, and estimate our disposition by our ability for conquest. But surely they have forgotten, or imagine that we shall forget, the essential difference of our institutions. The spirit of subjugation and conquest is utterly irreconcilable with the spirit of republicanism. The great truth, upon which our system of polity is based, is, that *all* men have certain inalienable rights,—all, of every kindred, and nation, and tongue, under heaven. But after having declared these truths before the world, we are not at liberty to trample upon those rights at the promptings of avarice or ambition. This declaration is not merely a cunning device to elicit a burst of applause in a Fourth-of-July oration. The principles which we have avowed are susceptible of direct application to our intercourse with other nations, and they will be violated, if we do not adopt a line of policy far more just and liberal than any other state has hitherto employed. We are not at liberty to emulate the exploits of those despotisms which have filled the world with wanton bloodshed.

It is true, republics, so called, have been as insatiably fond of conquest as ever were the tyrants of the earth; and the foulest, most detestable atrocities have been committed in the sacred name of liberty and equality. But we have founded our claims for independence upon certain fixed principles deduced from truth and nature, and not belonging only to some few isolated individuals, whom circumstances had enabled to cast off a foreign yoke, but of application as universal as their source. Consistency requires, therefore, that we concede to others the rights which we demand as our own. Liberty, like the air we breathe, or the refreshing dew, is the common gift of Heaven to all mankind.

But leaving justice and consistency out of the question, regard for our own welfare dictates the course which we have been advocating upon higher grounds. Very seldom are nations, who enlarge their dominions by conquest, really benefited. They may rise from obscurity, and advance rapidly in the career of fortune. Their armies may bear their flag in triumph over a continent, and their fleets unfurl it upon every sea. Cities may increase in wealth and luxury, and gorgeous palaces crown every hill. Emperors may ascend the throne, and give audience to the ambassadors of a hundred conquered realms. All this is but a splendid mockery. The temple which they have reared, without so magnificent and im-

posing, is but a whited sepulchre, filled with the bones of the unnumbered thousands who died to purchase its greatness, and blasted by the sighs of the widow and the fatherless. If America should enter the arena where nations are the combatants, and glory the prize, she may surpass her competitors, but her sole reward will be a fading wreath of laurel, and that, the price of blood. Her banner may wave in triumph above all others, but the breeze that stirs its folds will be the dying breath of her children, and the mount upon which it is planted, a pile of skulls. Then, let other nations pursue their career of mad ambition. Let them strew the plains of Europe with the bleaching bones of their slaughtered offspring. Let the Eagle gorge itself upon the bleeding limbs of fallen and dismembered Poland. Let the Lion batten upon his helpless Eastern prey. We boast a nobler spirit, and more exalted aims than these. And when the song of our rejoicing ascends to heaven, let no discordant note jar with that anthem which proclaimed, in celestial strains, peace on earth and good will to men.

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ART. III.—1. *Puritanism; or, a Churchman's Defense against its Aspersions, by an Appeal to its own History.* By THOMAS W. COIT, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, New-Rochelle, N. Y., and a Member of the New-York Historical Society. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845.

2. *The Puritans and their Principles.* By EDWIN HALL. New-York: Baker & Scribner. 1846.

PURITANISM is destined to a sure and certain immortality. Leaving out of consideration all *principles*, two causes insure this,—the undying attachment of its friends, and the unceasing hostility of its enemies. Puritan blood and Puritan principles are wide spread; and staunch and able defenders, both of their faith and character, rise up daily. The press, with its thousand tongues, in the form of poems, essays, orations, or more elaborate works, constantly speaks in their praise.

The position which Puritanism has occupied in the history of England for the last three centuries, and in this country for the last two hundred and twenty-five years, and its intimate connection with religion, literature, and ecclesiastical and political economy, make it a necessary subject of investigation, and a fruitful theme of discourse, among all professions of men. Notwithstanding,

Puritan is as despised a name with some, at the present moment, as it was in the days of James; and the principles of the Non-conformists are as ardently hated by others as they were in the times of Laud. The subject must, therefore, be one of importance; and, perhaps, to none, judging from the signs of the times, can it be more important than to the present generation.

We place at the head of our article the titles of two works on this subject, both recently from the press. The author of the first, Dr. Coit, formerly president of the Transylvania University, is now the rector of Trinity Church, New-Rochelle, N. Y. Circumstances have conspired to place in his study a very large and valuable library; selected in part, we believe, by himself while in Europe, and which contains many rare and choice books. The duties of a small country parish allow him time to pore over his musty treasures, and bring out, for the edification of his readers, things "old," at least, from the records of the past. We may say, also, that he is in the full acceptance of the term a high churchman; happy, we presume, in the confidence and esteem of his church; and, until the publication of this book, enjoying, for aught we know, an enviable reputation.

The author of the second, Rev. E. Hall, is the respected pastor of the First Congregational Church in Norwalk, Conn.; a man devoted to the interests of his church, and rigidly attached to his own denominational order and discipline. We certainly mean no disrespect in saying he is a high Congregationalist. He believes that the "Puritanic system of church polity" is "broadly and solidly based on the Word of God;" and of course, therefore, of divine obligation.

As we have little space for extracts from these works, we shall, in noticing them, offer only a brief critique.

The main portions of Dr. Coit's work first appeared in a series of "Letters," published by the author in the "Churchman," during the year 1835. In the autumn of 1843 Dr. Coit received from "several of the bishops and a large number of the clergy a letter, relative to these communications," expressing "an earnest desire" that they should be "revised and published in a permanent form." This "was not the first nor the twentieth time, probably," says the author, "that I had been approached upon the subject—a subject which the recollection of abuse, (rain, hail, and horrid thunder-claps,) poured upon me without measure, determined me never to resume on my individual responsibility. But it was the first time that my brethren in the ministry seemed willing, by giving me their signatures, to share with me the responsibility of publishing



disagreeable facts."—*Preface*. Being thus furnished with the opinion and signatures of several of the bishops and a large number of the clergy, the author addressed himself to the work of revising, &c., without further hesitation. In the mean time, however, the "church" was pleased to ask him to edit a "standard Prayer Book." This, together with the necessity of rewriting most of the letters which had already appeared, delayed the publication till a later day than was expected.

From this it appears that our author was especially called to *defend* the church against the aspersions of the Puritans. The following extract shows the gist of his argument:—

"There seems to be no other mode left to teach some to look away from *our* magnified faults, but by calling the public to look at *their* forgotten ones."—P. 238.

The *title* of the work is a complete misnomer: "Puritanism; or a Churchman's Defense against its Aspersions." Whereas it is neither. A better title, and one more in accordance with its contents, would be, "A Churchman's Recital of the Follies, Persecutions, and various Barbarities, practiced by the ancient Puritans, both in England and America; drawn from all available Sources, authentic or otherwise: and furnishing abundant Evidence that they were in many Respects as bad as the Episcopalians." Setting out with this cognomen, we would readily concede that the author has labored most patiently and perseveringly to accomplish his purpose. And if he has not succeeded, the fault must be, in his case, not in himself.

Though this work contains more than five hundred pages, abounding in quotations from authors of all sorts, it has no "Index" to subjects; and the "Table of Contents" is a most meagre thing. Such neglect is inexcusable in the author of a work like this. And however valuable it might be as a book of reference, this deficiency will seriously detract from its worth.

The author's style is exceedingly hard. Long parentheses, quotations, explanatory remarks, and the regular thread of discourse, are sometimes huddled together in a strange and incongruous manner. The sense is obscured, and close attention is necessary to get at it at all. Take the following passage as a specimen:—

"But one was now approaching, who would make it a theme even for the 'meeting house,' and commend it to their own ears in such piercing words, that, like some of old, (Luke iv, 28, 29,) who professed greater *purity* than others, not a few 'were filled with wrath, rose up and thrust him out of the city.' 'He, passing through the midst of them,

went his way,'—was not to be found, when a warrant was issued to arrest him—or Witch Hill, or one of the summits of Tri-Mountain, might have told a tale, to make the rest of St. Luke's language applicable—'cast him down headlong.'—Pp. 290, 291.

The work gives evidence of having occasioned severe pain and protracted labor. We frankly confess it is not what we expected from the pen of Dr. Coit. Indeed, we are inclined to believe he has not done himself justice in its authorship. In reading the work, which we have done most carefully and patiently, not omitting the "Notes" and references which cover one hundred pages, in close and fine print, besides occupying considerable space on almost every leaf of the text, we were reminded of King *Henry's* speech to *Gloster* :—

"Thy mother felt more than a mother's pain,  
And yet brought forth less than a mother's hope ;  
'To wit—an indigest deformed lump,  
Not like the fruit of such a goodly tree."—*Henry VI.*

The spirit\* of Dr. Coit's work has been severely censured. He seems sometimes at a loss for ungracious epithets for the Puritans and Puritan historians and authors : not at a loss from incapability to use such epithets—for the work is full of them ; but from complete exhaustion of the vocabulary. The whole body are indiscriminately called a "clan," "a hirsute generation," "a mad faction," and "canting hypocrites." Mr. Neal is very sarcastically styled, "the candid Neal." Mr. Bancroft, though honored with a place in the title-page, "belies himself." And as for poor Bennett and Bogue, they are hardly allowed the benefit of clergy.

Dr. Coit writes with horror on the treatment Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, &c., received from the Puritans. And, if we admit all he says on the subject, what then ? Why, it proves that they were as bad, in this respect, as the churchmen. Did the Puritans persecute, tax, fine, imprison, and banish ? Did not the churchmen do the same ? What if he make the Puritans as bad

\* "They [the Puritans] rule with a superstition, and under the promptings of a priestcraft, unsurpassed in the annals of popes or of lords, of high-commissions or star-chambers :—and all this for a 'purely religious cause ?' They arrest, try, condemn, fine, imprison, fetter, brand, lash, maim, curse, banish, hang, and leave naked and unburied (save in the bowels of beasts of prey) their brethren in a common Protestant Christianity :—and all this for a 'purely religious cause ?' . . . They tolerate such grossness in the pulpit, and in the press, (and against those whose sex should have been sufficient protection,) as might disgrace a bar-room :—and all this for a 'purely religious cause ?'—Pp. 76, 77.

as Satan? Does he not, at the same time, prove his own ecclesiastical progenitors to have been the offspring of Beelzebub? This certainly outdoes the Calvinistic notion of disinterestedness and submission. To be *willing* to be damned that we may be *saved*, is ultra enough. But to make ourselves children of the wicked one, that we may fasten the same paternity upon others, seems to partake strongly of a malevolent disinterestedness.

We are assured by Dr. Coit, who quotes with approbation from the speech of Mr. Newton, made before the Board of Missions of the Diocese of Mass., at Boston, 1842, that the Episcopal Church is the "most tolerant, mild, and forbearing, toward those who differ from her, of any known body of Christians on earth." This is a very remarkable passage; and it is made and quoted with great self-complacency. But what does it mean? Is the Protestant Episcopal Church more "tolerant," in any distinct sense, than the other churches in this country? Wherein does she show herself so very "mild?" By un-churching all others, and arrogating to herself all the Christianity in the land? In what is her special "forbearance" seen? We were not aware that the other churches needed her "forbearance;" or that she sustained such a relation to them, that it was one of her peculiar prerogatives to show them clemency. Fortunately for the reputation of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and fortunately for the rights and liberties of others, she possesses no state power.

While we speak thus plainly of the Protestant Episcopal Church, we would speak just as plainly of all other churches. We would not trust one of them with civil power. In our opinion there is not one but would, in time, losing its evangelical spirituality, become a persecuting church, should it possess the requisite power. This is but the direct and certain result of all state church establishments.

Besides persecuting dissenters, such establishments tend to the subversion of evangelical Christianity, and to the substitution, in its place, of outward forms and unmeaning ceremonies. And, in addition to this, they indirectly spread infidelity with all the evils that follow in its train. This is clearly demonstrated (to go no further) in the history of Old and New-England. Indeed, from the days of Constantine down to the present time the curse of God has rested upon such church and state institutions. Christ says, "My kingdom is not of this world." And when the church is chained to the state, the divine Shechinah either wholly removes from the propitiatory, or shines but dimly. The church is never so lovely, and never does she so fully display her saving power and



glory, as when, simply leaning upon the arm of her Beloved, she walks through the length and breadth of the land in her own native strength and godlike dignity. She is then Heaven's almoner to mankind. Then is she "all glorious within," and "her paths drop fatness."

The remarks of our author on the self-banishment of the Puritans are very specious: "Persecution never *drove* them from home to seek the inhospitable shelter of a howling wilderness." In Holland "they might have had comfortable homes, by good Dutch peat fires, and lived and died unmolested and unfearing." And therefore, they they were not driven across the Atlantic. So, if a man is compelled to flee from the United States, and stops a little while at Fayal before he goes to France, where he has learned he can live without molestation, when he arrives on the shores of Normandy he is not a banished man! O, no. He might have stayed at Fayal! And if, for his comfort, he buy himself a lot of land and build him a house, and by honest industry in some lawful calling try to obtain a livelihood, why then, sure, he has gone there for "purposes of trade," to "catch fish," and indulge his "passion for land!" Now the English government did not drive the Puritans to *America*, it only persecuted them out of England. And when they had cleared from Dover, or Land's-End, they were at liberty to go to Holland, or anywhere else, so far as the government cared. This is like the logic of the Quaker, who, not disposed to hurt or harm his neighbor's unruly dog, did not drown him; he simply held him under water, and gave him the privilege of *breathing* as long as he lived!

Fully in keeping with this are our author's remarks on the kindness shown to Fox, Hooper, and Coverdale. Fox died, to be sure, "in his nest;" but he passed through trying reverses, and was neglected because he was a Non-conformist. The kindness shown to Hooper\* may be seen in his banishment, his Fleet residence and confinement, and in his martyrdom. And how was it with "old Miles Coverdale," under whose direction, in 1535, the first translation of the *whole* Bible ever printed in English was completed?

The following interesting sketch of his life will answer:—

"He was born in Yorkshire, about 1486, and became an Augustine monk. At the time when he published his translation of the Bible he was in exile for the sake of religion, having embraced the principles of the Reformation. Being permitted to return to

\* Vide Neal's History of the Puritans, Blake's Biographical Dictionary, and Fox's Book of Martyrs.

England, he was made almoner to Catharine Parr, the last wife of Henry VIII. During the reign of Edward VI. he was promoted to the bishopric of Exeter; but on the change of religion in Queen Mary's reign, he was deprived of his see and thrown into prison, out of which he was released at the earnest request of the king of Denmark; and, as a very great favor, was permitted to depart out of the kingdom. Soon after Elizabeth's accession to the throne he returned from his exile, but would not accept of his bishopric. The cause of his refusal was his attachment to the principles of the Puritans. Grindal, bishop of London, gave him the small living of St. Magnus, near London Bridge; but not complying with the terms of conformity then required, he was deprived of his living, *became obnoxious to government, and died in indigence*, May 20th, 1567, aged eighty-one. Such was the fate of this eminent translator of the Scriptures; a man universally esteemed for his piety, his Scriptural knowledge, and his diligence in preaching.\*

It does not matter, says our author, speaking of Puritan persecution, if we are doomed to burn in an *Auto da Fé*, who fires the fagots. Neither, perhaps, does it matter if, for opinion's sake, we must die, whether it be by neglect, starvation, or fire. But still, if it were lawful under such circumstances to choose, most, probably, would prefer the stake. It is absolutely sickening to hear an American citizen of cultivated mind, and refined, independent feelings, in the middle of the nineteenth century, talk of the "lenient and courteous disposition" of the English government, in allowing Protestant ministers of Christ to lay aside Popish robes and rags, in "private," or even on a "most memorable public occasion," while, at the same time, it requires a "conformity" not authorized by the Word of God, tramples under foot their consciences, treats with scorn and contempt their enlightened religious scruples, and finally scatters their ashes to the winds of heaven. We do not envy any man his head or his heart who can discover in such a course of treatment a "lenient and courteous disposition." And if this be the exhibition of the "lenience" of a "full-fledged prelacy," we pray, in the language of the litany, "*From such, good Lord, deliver us!*"

But "in view of such evidence," says Dr. Coit, "a man must be voracious in appetite, and fastidious in digestion, beyond all reasonable dyspeptic liberty, if he could still demand proof of the lenient and courteous disposition of the government toward all who were moderate and gentlemanly in their objections and petitions for

\* Townley's Biblical Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 97.

reform." This, besides being a *petitio principii*, sounds strangely to republican ears, and smacks very strongly of "my lord bishop." But let that pass. Were not these persons "moderate" in their objections, and "gentlemanly" in their petitions for reform? When Bishop Lloyd inquired of John Howe, as "sturdy an old Non-conformist" as "father Fox," what he thought would satisfy the Non-conformists, so that they might be taken into the church, Mr. Howe replied, that "he thought it would go a *considerable way* toward it, if the law was so framed, as that ministers might be enabled to *promote parochial reformation*." "For that reason," said the bishop, "I am for taking the lay chancelors quite away, as being the great hinderance of reformation." But was this "moderate objection and gentlemanly petition" heeded? "That very night the bill of exclusion was thrown out of the House of Peers by a majority of thirty voices, fourteen of which were bishops."\*

Mr. Wesley says,† and surely he had sympathy enough for the English Church and government, "I stand in amaze: First, at the execrable spirit of persecution which drove those venerable men out of the church, and with which Queen Elizabeth's clergy were as deeply tinctured as ever Queen Mary's were. Secondly, at the weakness of those holy confessors, who spent so much of their time and strength in disputing about surplices and hoods, or kneeling at the Lord's supper." The manner in which Mr. Wesley refers to the surplices and hoods, shows that he thought they were "moderate" in their objection, at least. But in the place of a "lenient disposition," he discovered an "execrable spirit of persecution." And this was written in 1747, while as yet the English Church was a darling object in the affections of that great and good man.

But he places the "moderation" of the Puritans in a stronger contrast with this "lenient and courteous disposition," in his Letters to Mr. John Smith, who addressed a series of letters to him in manuscript, and who is supposed to have been Dr. Thomas Secker, bishop of Oxford, and subsequently archbishop of Canterbury. Speaking of Mr. Cartwright, he says, "I look upon him, and the body of Puritans in that age, (*to whom the German Anabaptists bore small resemblance*), to have been both the most learned and the most pious men that were then in the English nation. Nor did they separate from the church; *but were driven out, whether they would or no!*"‡

The only kind of "moderation" that would have experienced "lenient and courteous treatment from the government" was hum-

\* Life of John Howe.

† Works, vol. iii, p. 392.

‡ Works, vol. vi, pp. 643, 644.



ble submission to the *dicta* of the church. Conscience out of the way, the "church," right or wrong, was the test. The Non-conformists, could they have been thus "moderate and gentlemanly," would not have been regarded as "interlopers,"\* or "squatters,"—to use the elegant diction of our author, who, we are informed, affects some fastidiousness in such matters,—but would, without doubt, have been furnished with livings, prebendaries, and bishoprics.

The truth is, every movement for reform in the estimation of some, is "immoderate" and "ungentlemanly." Put forth a little effort to reform any abuse, and demagogues, set on by interested partisans, immediately raise the cry of *ultraism*. The Waldenses were ultraists; the Lollards, rejecting the mass, extreme unction, and penance, were very "ungentlemanly." The Wiclifites were a "mad faction." The reformers were a spontaneous production of that "land of fierce fanaticism." It is no marvel, then, that the Puritans, or Non-conformists, should be regarded in the same light. The dissenters are placed in the same category.

We do not mean to offer a defense for the doings of lawless factions, or headstrong and ungovernable individuals. It seemed at times as though such would blast the fairest hopes and prospects of the reformation in Germany. And some such there were in the "troublous times" in England. Such may be found in every community. But *true* reformers are no more responsible for their fanaticism, than were the "sons of God," when they came to present themselves before the Lord, for the coming and presence of Satan. Job i.

It may be admitted that the Puritans were not always wise in their measures. Neither did they always arrive at the most desirable results. Mr. Hall well remarks:—

"It cannot be pretended that all their measures were entirely moderate or wise. The times were unfavorable. The English people were

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\* "These two thousand [ejected ministers] were interlopers—not even ecclesiastical squatters, as we Americans would say—absolute interlopers, who had driven away the lawful shepherds of the flock, and were covering themselves with the fleece, full warmly. The ministers of the Church of England were the real victims of banishment; and the Act of Uniformity was but an act of simple justice, to give them back their own."—Pp. 54, 55.

"Dr. Coit's 'interlopers,' worse even than 'ecclesiastical squatters,' were such men as Gilpin, Bates, Manton, Jacomb, Owen, Goodwin, Baxter, Newcome, Calamy, Pool, Caryl, Charnock, Gouge, Jenkins, Corbet, Mead, Howe, Vincent, Flavel, Philip Henry, and others of like character, though less known to fame."—*Puritans and their Principles*, p. 436.

not, like the American people at their revolution, prepared for a republic. The past history of the world did not hold out sufficient light to guide the great experiment. Causes beyond their control, casualties to human power inevitable, hindered the results of their labors."—*Puritans and their Principles*, p. 235.

Neither let it be supposed that we design to justify, or defend, the Puritans in their persecutions on these shores. *Far from it.* We are as really and heartily abhorrent of these as Dr. Coit affects to be. We simply remark, in the language of our author, "When *all* liberty has been taken from men, they are apt to abuse it, if regained by blood from their oppressors." Over-jealous of their liberties, when they came to enjoy the blessing of sacred freedom in the new world, and not fully comprehending the rights of others, they unfortunately found a majority, who, following the example of "fatherland," were disposed to oppress and persecute those who differed from them. It may, however, and ought to be added, that persecutions have long since ceased here. All Christian denominations are equal in the eyes of the law; and every man, without let or hinderance, worships God according to the dictates of his own conscience; *while to this very hour the government of England is OPPRESSIVE ON ALL DISSENTERS.*

We use the term Puritan, as Dr. Coit frequently does, to designate the great body of dissenters. "It was a common name given to all who, from conscientious motives, though on different grounds, disapproved of the established religion, from the reformation under Elizabeth to the Act of Uniformity, in 1662. From that time to the revolution, in 1668, as many as refused to comply with the established worship, (among whom were about two thousand clergymen, and perhaps five hundred thousand people,) were denominated Non-conformists. From the passing of the Act of Toleration, on the accession of William and Mary, the name of Non-conformist was changed to that of Protestant Dissenters."\* It is true our author applies the term Puritan, when it suits the purpose in hand better, to the Independents, or Congregationalists. Hence, he dwells upon Puritan treatment of Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, &c. In the remarks we make we have no reference to this distinction. We are not set to defend Congregationalists, nor Baptists, nor Presbyterians, nor Quakers, nor Papists. These denominations, except the Papists, can make their own defense; and if they cannot, Dr. Coit is at hand.

Though well aware of the high churchmanship of our author, we were not prepared for a set defense of Laud. But Dr. Coit

\* Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge; Art., Puritans.

not only offers a justification for him, but "feels as if it were anything but sin to defend him." That he possessed excellences, we may admit; but his bad deeds greatly outweigh the good.\* He was superstitious and oppressive; discovering, says Mosheim, a violent spirit of animosity and persecution through the whole of his ecclesiastical administration. He forced bishops upon the Scots—he beheld the Puritans with horror, and aimed at their *total extinction*, and revived Romish ceremonies in the church. And yet, according to our author, he was a noble defender of the Protestant faith!

There is one condition, on which Dr. Coit intimates he might be led to speak in a different strain of the Puritans. It is that they look away from Laud's "failings," and "honor his undoubted virtues." The latter part, we presume, they will readily do; but concerning the former we have some doubts. These "*failings*"—a mild term to express great enormities—cannot easily be forgotten. They are indelibly written on the page of history. This singular overture reminds us of a little incident that occurred soon after the passage of the last law by congress, on the claims of revolutionary soldiers. This law provided that each applicant should produce living testimony that he had done the amount of service required. Mr. G—, who had seen a small detachment of the army pass by his father's house in his boyhood, called upon Mr. W—, his neighbor, who was about the same age, and said, Well, Mr. W—, if you will "*remember*" me, I will "*remember*" you! But, much to the mortification of Mr. G—, Mr. W— chose not to swear falsely. So, we opine, it will be with the Puritans. They will not eulogize Laud; even if Dr. Coit would stay his ire, forgive them all that is past, and attempt, in a "congenial strain," their praise.

King Jamie's "No bishop, no king," has, it seems, been generally misunderstood. Our author says:—

"Here is a churchman's familiar explanation of it. 'By *no bishop, no king*, is not intended that bishops are the props of royalty, nor do Episcopalians understand it so: but that both one and the other are objects of the same fury; only the church goes first.' (*L'Estrange*, p. 170.)"—*Note*, p. 440.

But how do Episcopalians reason on the motto, "No bishop, no church?" and how do they "understand that?" That bishops are not

\* The notice of Laud in *Blake's Biographical Dictionary*, published in N. Y. in 1845, is most one-sided and disingenuous. Who prepared that article? Had the author any sectarian purposes to serve? By the by, there are a number of articles in that work that need revision.



the "props" of the church? Do they not gravely tell us there can be *no church without* a bishop? Analogy would certainly lead us to the same conclusion respecting the phrase, No bishop, no king. Besides, what are the historical facts in the case? In all the Christian nations, where kingly power has been most oppressive, that power has been bolstered up by prelacy. Prelacy has ever been the foe of civil and religious liberty, and the "prop of royalty." Except for this, England would have long since, probably, administered "equal and exact justice" to all her subjects. Says Dr. Hook, whom Powell calls "the apostle and high-priest" of the high-church scheme of the present times, "Were all connection between the church and state to cease, we may be sure the *monarchy would be destroyed*."\* But who shall decide when "churchmen" disagree?

Dr. Coit's account of the "origin" of Puritanism is as meagre as it is unsatisfactory. A few ignorant fanatics of the Munster school subvert the church and state, take off the heads of bishops and king, assume the reins of government, and banish the lawful shepherds of the flock. The statement is its own refutation.

Our author's caution to low-churchmen is altogether uncalled for. They will, without doubt, keep sufficiently aloof from all "anti-Episcopalians." The foot note on p. 443 might have been spared. Are the low-churchmen in leading-strings? Is it "*extra charity*" for churchmen to tell dissenters "how much they love them?" How "mild," "tolerant," and "forbearing," is the "church" toward all who differ from her!

But Dr. Coit's hand seems to be against every man. Even the American Bible Society, and the *American edition of the Bible*, fall under his ban! Our Baptist brethren may claim him as an ally. His objection is different; his aim may be the same. That society leave out the *Translators' Address* and the *Dedication*! He says,—

"One looks for it [the Address] in vain in the volumes of an association professing to give us a *genuine* book. A quarto Bible of the American Bible Society was put into my pulpit, because it was *cheap*; but I paid *dear* for it one day, when, turning to quote from it, I found not so much as even the old Dedication suffered to remain."—P. 346.

Indeed! We really sympathize with the doctor in this sad dilemma. We hope his congregation will take the hint, rid themselves of their *parsimony*, and raise money enough to *import* a "perfect Bible" for their pulpit, containing both the "Address" and "Dedication."

\* Sermon before the Queen. See Powell, p. 341.

There is a note on this subject that ought not to be overlooked:—

“The whole Address of the translators, though a part of the furniture of the original translation of the Bible, in 1611, is deliberately cut out by the largest society for publishing the English Bible in these United States; and yet *Puritans* marvel that Episcopalians are ‘scrupulous’ about sanctioning its work, by uniting in it! Is not the scrupulosity rather on their side?”

When Dr. Reynolds objected to the phrase, in the marriage service, “With my body I thee worship,” the king “smiled him down,” as our author informs us. Cannot the American Bible Society “smile down” Dr. Coit? and get him to “sanction,” “by uniting in the work,” one of the most godlike enterprises on earth, to wit, the general circulation of the Holy Scriptures “without note or comment?”

The use of the term “Puritan” in the above extract shows that we have not misapprehended our author. This is further evident from another short sentence. “Puritanism would have done in ages past, what *dissent* is ready to do, and striving to do, in this current hour.”—P. 349. What our author has to offer in sympathy for some of the branches of the “hirsute” family, is, after all, mere “blarney.” He looks through the same glass with the British critic, and is hostile toward *all* dissenters.\*

Before dismissing this book, we make one more brief extract. It contains the account of the origin of our author’s Episcopal blood.

“I find the following account of my Quaker ancestor, who became a churchman, in Deane’s History of Scituate, and give it in his own words. ‘He left Scituate in 1704, and settled in Newport. He had previously married Ruth, daughter of deacon J. B., sen. To this match there had been several objections: the Quakers disapproved of his marrying *out* of the society, and the Congregationalists of his marrying *into* theirs; and, moreover, the woman was very young. However, the sanguine temperament of — was not to be foiled; and he is said to have addressed the young woman in the presence of her family in the following words: Ruth, let us break away from this unreasonable bondage. I will give up my religion, and thou shalt give up thine; and we will go to the Church of England, and go to the d—l together.’ They fulfilled this resolution, adds my annalist, *so far* as going to church and marrying, and adhering to the Church of England during life.”—Pp. 332, 333.

Whether they “fulfilled” the resolution in the last *item*, history does not say.

\* Vide p. 349, et passim.

Mr. Hall's book is composed of lectures delivered to his congregation in 1843 and 1844. The design of the author in this work, he tells us, is,—

“To set forth the causes which brought the Pilgrims to these shores ; to exhibit their principles ; to show what these principles are worth, and what it costs to maintain them ; to vindicate the character of the Puritans from the aspersions which have been cast upon them, and to show the Puritanic system of church polity, (as distinguished from the prelatic,) broadly and solidly based on the Word of God, inseparable from religious purity and religious freedom ; and of immense permanent importance to the best interests of mankind.”

The greatest portion of Mr. Hall's work is a rapid sketch of the history of the Puritans, dating from Wiclif to their settlement in this country. There are in this sketch many thrilling passages. Indeed, our author writes at times as though the scenes he portrays were present, and now being acted : he makes you see and feel the wrongs inflicted on his sires.

We are inclined to think, however, that our author lays himself open to criticism from the church party, by relying, perhaps, too much on what they have considered, and ever will consider, as *ex parte* testimony. Neal,\* as a historian, is justly admired ; but his History, though in the main correct, receives beyond doubt a party coloring. He is ready to attribute right motives to the Puritans, and to draw the most unfavorable inferences respecting the churchmen. So, on the other hand, Clarendon can find apologies and excuses for Charles and the church party, while he sees in the Puritans little but fanaticism and rebellion. Whoever wishes to arrive at safe and just conclusions concerning those times, must, without prejudice, con-

\* The following remarks of *Dr. Bacon*, on Neal's History, are as just as they are happy :—“Neal's History of the Puritans is a work of great industry and research. The author wrote, indeed, with an undisguised sense of the injuries which the Puritans and their successors, the Non-conformists, had suffered from the English government ; and his narrative is, therefore, to be considered as *ex parte*. It differs from any history of the Puritans which a writer on the other side would produce ; very much as a history of England, written by an Englishman, would differ from a history of England written by a Frenchman. Yet the attempts which have been made to impugn its authority have not been successful. Few works of so great an extent, and including so many details, have better sustained the assaults of hostile criticism. Subsequent investigations, continued with great zeal for more than a century, have detected its errors, and have shown the power of party feelings on the author's judgment : but errors more serious have been detected in Hume's more complete and classical history ; and in respect to the influence of partisanship upon the story, the little finger of Clarendon is thicker than the loins of Neal.”



sult the writers on both sides. He will then discover, what some Puritans are hardly willing to admit, that both parties in some things were wrong; and, also, what some churchmen are as loth to allow, that both parties in other things were right.

Mr. Hall has held much communion with the old Puritanic authors, and has become deeply imbued with their spirit. His work, written in nervous and perspicuous English, contains much important information, and will, without doubt, become a standard authority with the denomination. Its moral tone is what the present times need; and its glowing republicanism will meet with a warm response in thousands of American hearts. It plainly recognizes the essential doctrines of Christianity, and teaches the awakened sinner to rely on *Christ* for salvation. He says:—

“A sinner inquires, What must I do to be saved? *We* (I mean we ‘dissenters,’ Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, and the whole Protestant world save the prelatists) say to him, The matter lies wholly between your own soul and your God. ‘No outward form can make you clean.’ No earthly priest can do you good.

‘Behold, I fall before thy face,  
My only refuge is thy grace;  
No outward forms can make me clean,  
The leprosy lies deep within.

No bleeding bird, nor bleeding beast,  
Nor hyssop branch, nor sprinkling priest,  
Nor running brook, nor flood, nor sea,  
Can wash the dismal stain away.’

If you had the apostles here themselves, instead of their pretended official successors, they could do you no good. You must ‘*BELIEVE on the Lord Jesus Christ*;

 that is, with a penitent and broken heart, despairing of all other help, commit your soul to the efficacy of Christ’s atoning blood, as set forth in the provisions and promises of the gospel. ‘*With the heart man believeth unto righteousness.*’”—P. 377.

Our author passes lightly over Puritan persecutions in New-England. We are disposed to regard in as favorable a light as we possibly can these errors of the Puritans, and to defend their general character. But, by attempting to *justify* their acts, by making the objects of their hate dangerous citizens, plotting against the state, we do their memory little service. When struggling for liberty of conscience, in the old world, they were clearly in the right; and, when oppressing and persecuting those who differed from them in the new, they were most certainly *in the wrong*.

It is claimed, however, that the Puritans corrected their own

errors; and that they did this *denominationally*. Mr. Hall says,—

“The old world has not yet seen an example of a single *denomination* holding an absolute and controlling power, and yet correcting her own errors by an *entire toleration of foreign hostile sects*.”—P. 402.

There is much more implied in this passage than can be readily admitted. This “single denomination,” as long as it had “absolute and controlling power,” did not grant toleration to the “sects.” But these “sects,” having greatly multiplied, united together; and, constituting a decided majority, demanded and obtained new and liberal constitutions in the different states. Many of the “denomination” were not a little chagrined when they found themselves a minority, and their “rights,” as some of them regarded their power to tax and oppress others, taken away. The “sects,” therefore, and not the “single denomination,” *were the authors of our present system of equal rights.*\*

These “foreign hostile sects”—a rather Puseyic phraseology—were the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and some smaller associations. These denominations were no more “foreign” than the Congregationalists. They were not “hostile” to anything but the exercise of unrighteous, arbitrary power. In the offensive sense of the term, they were no more “sects” than the “standing order.” They were “dissenters,” we admit; and the fruit of their dissent we are now permitted to enjoy.

On the Puritanic, or, as he means, Congregational system of church polity, Mr. Hall takes very high ground. It is, he says, “*broadly and solidly based on the Word of God;*” and “*inseparable from religious purity and religious freedom.*” Push this to its legitimate results, and it leads to that exclusiveness, which, in the prelatical churches, our author so pointedly and justly condemns. If the Scriptures teach one uniform system of church polity, and the Puritanic churches, and they only, are framed in accordance with this system, then all other churches are in a state of schism. And if the Puritanic polity is “*inseparable from religious purity and freedom,*” then, by far the greatest portion of the Christian world, including Presbyterians and Methodists, are in religious impurity and bondage. This, considering the comparatively small number of Puritanic, or Congregational, churches, is more exclusive than high churchism. What is to become of the large denominations

\* It ought, in justice to their memory, to be noticed that there were individuals, perhaps many, among the “standing order,” that were in favor of the change: these united with the “sects” in their efforts to obtain constitutional freedom.

which occupy intermediate ground between the Congregational and Prelatic churches? By one they are declared to be in a state of impurity and bondage; and by the other they are coolly handed over to the "uncovenanted mercies of God!" But our author is *not* such an exclusive; and this language can only be regarded as a rhetorical flourish to eulogize a favorite system.

The fact that different opinions respecting the constitution and government of the church have been entertained in all ages by great and good men, equally learned and pious, should be regarded as strong evidence that no perfect system of church polity is clearly specified in the sacred text. But when men write in view of previously settled convictions on the subject, it is quite easy,—at least it seems so to them,—to find the exact counterpart of their theory in the Scriptures. And should the Scripture pattern be either too full, or defective, a little clipping and stretching can, so they fancy, bring it to the required form! Mr. Hall can see no churches in the Scriptures but "Congregational churches," each an independent republic, having within itself everything that pertains to the constitution and government of the church. Indeed, he discovers in the apostolic churches the exact model of the New-England churches. He says—the capitals are his own—"AS VISIBLE ORGANIZATIONS, NO CHURCHES ARE RECOGNIZED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, EXCEPT SUCH AS ARE CONGREGATIONAL." But as there is an important connection between the Congregational and Presbyterian churches, a "note" immediately explains:—

"The word is not used here in the *technical* sense; that is, as distinguishing Congregational from Presbyterian."—P. 283.

So, the prelacy, with equal clearness, see in the apostles, and bishops, and deacons, of the primitive church, the prototype of their own orders; and in the union of the churches, and the general oversight of the apostles and elders, the establishment of diocesan episcopacy. One system professes to regard the church as a pure *republic*, the other as a *monarchy*. If these terms are used in a modified sense, we are not disposed to quarrel with either system. But, understanding them in their natural and legitimate sense, as recognizing authority in *man*, (as a member of the republic, or as the monarch,) to *make laws* for the church, and *impose doctrines* upon her, we believe they are both wrong. *Christ* is THE HEAD OF HIS CHURCH; and the WORD OF GOD is the LAW of the church. That Christ has delegated authority, as lawgiver, to a "congregation," constituting them a "republic," with power, by a majority, to *impose* doctrines or *enact* laws; or that he has committed such authority to any man, or any body of men, as distinct from the



"congregation," has no foundation in fact. *His glory he will not give to others.* The *Scriptures* are the rule, and the only rule, both for faith and practice. "Whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be *required* of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought necessary or requisite to salvation."—*Art. V.*

The only authority which Christ has delegated to man, for the regulation of the church and the enforcement of moral discipline, is *judicial* and *executive*. The manner in which the case of an offending brother is to be adjudicated, and the law executed, is plainly stated by the Lawgiver himself. Vide Matt. xviii, 15-18.

The great question in controversy is, To whom is this authority committed? Congregationalism claims that it is, by divine appointment, vested in the "congregation." Prelacy, that it is by divine right, through apostolical succession, vested in the bishop. The truth, we apprehend, is between the extremes. The judicial authority, which is to try private members of the church for alledged offenses, is the "church." The execution of the law upon such as are *thus* found to be offenders, is by the ministry whom Christ has appointed to "oversee" and feed the flock of God. Nor is there any authority in the *Scriptures*, in the case of a private member, for an appeal to another tribunal. The final adjudication of such a case is with the church. And when they have decided on the innocence or guilt of a member, the executive authority must act accordingly.

That the ministry whom Christ appoints have more authority in the church, and more to do with the administration of its discipline, than is acknowledged by Congregationalism, seems quite evident to us:—

1. From the *relation* which, by the appointment of the "Holy Ghost," they sustain to the church. "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you *overseers*, ἐπισκοπούς:" from ἐπί, upon, over, and σκεπτομαι, I look. Properly, to look over, to inspect. Acts xx, 28. "Hence, in Athens, ἐπίσκοποι were magistrates sent out to tributary cities to *organize and govern them.*"—*Robinson.*

1 Peter v, 2. "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the *oversight*, ἐπισκοπούντες." Discharging the duties of *overseers*, or *bishops*.

2. From the directions given them respecting the church. "*Feed* the church of God—*feed* the flock of God." Ποιμαίνω literally means to pasture; tropically, to rule. The faithful pastor *feeds* and *governs* his flock.

"*Reprove, rebuke, exhort*, with all long-suffering and doctrine." 2 Tim. iv, 2.

3. From the commission given by Christ to the disciples: "Go ye therefore and teach, *μαθητευσατε*, *disciple*, all nations." Matt. xxviii, 19. This word, when used transitively, signifies to *train*. It imports the duty which a teacher owes to his disciple or scholar—to impart *instruction* to him and exercise wholesome *government* over him.

4. From the directions given to the church in respect to the ministry: "Remember them which have the *rule* over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God. *Obey* them that have the rule over you, and *submit* yourselves: for they watch for souls as they that must give *account*." Hebrews xiii, 7, 17.

5. From the reference of the church at Antioch to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, concerning Gentile circumcision. "They determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the *apostles* and *elders* about this question. And the *apostles* and *elders* came together for to consider of this matter." Acts xv, 2, 6. "And they delivered unto them the decrees, *δουγματα*, for to keep, that were ordained of the *apostles* and *elders* which were at Jerusalem." Acts xvi, 4.

"This," says Dr. Clarke, "was the first council ever held in the Christian church; and we find that it was composed of the *apostles* and *elders simply*."—*Com. in loc.*

The Congregational mode of explaining this transaction is by no means satisfactory. Mr. Hall says:—

"It was simply a question of advice made by one church to another."—*Note*, p. 284.

Not exactly. The reference is made to the "*apostles* and *elders*" which were at Jerusalem, not to the church. And the "*apostles* and *elders*," inspired by the Holy Ghost, (Acts xv, 28,) *ordain* certain "*decrees*" to be "*kept*" by the church at Antioch, and other Gentile churches. Does this look like simple "*advice*?" If it is "*advice*," it is advice with the authority of the "*Holy Ghost*." Observe, 1. That the church at Antioch *refer* the matter in dispute to the "*apostles* and *elders*" at Jerusalem. 2. The "*apostles* and *elders*" decide the question. 3. Their decision *settles* the dispute in Antioch. 4. Paul and Timotheus, traveling "through the cities," deliver them the "*decrees*," which henceforth are of standing authority in the Gentile church. 5. "So were the *churches established in the faith*, and increased in number daily."

From the above considerations, and many more not adduced, for

want of space, there is little to countenance the notion of an irresponsible democracy in the church.

We think every impartial reader of the New Testament must be convinced that the apostles and elders exercised a general superintendence over the primitive churches. On no other ground can the above passages of Scripture be satisfactorily explained. These elders, variously styled presbyters and bishops, were not "lords over the heritage of God"—did not claim the prerogatives of our present *diocesan* bishops—but were accredited and authorized ministers of Jesus Christ, traveling extensively and overseeing the general interests of the church.

Mr. Watson, (Institutes, vol. ii, pp. 586, 587,) after quoting Moseheim on the "independence" of "each Christian assembly," and referring to the usurpations of the bishop of Rome, remarks: "The independence of the early Christian churches does not, however, appear to have resembled that of the churches which in modern times are called independent. *During the lives of the apostles and evangelists, they were certainly subject to their counsel and control, which proves that the independency of separate societies was not the first form of the church.*"

On account of our position we have received a constant fire, on the one hand from "diocesan episcopacy," with whose doctrines on that subject we have little fellowship; and, on the other, from Congregational writers, whose system of church government we have never admired. The former we regard as a usurpation; the latter, as a tame surrender to the "people" of rights and prerogatives inherent in the ministry of Christ's appointment. The one may become oppressive; the other is weak and inefficient. In proof of the correctness of this remark, we refer to the history of the two systems respectively.

Notwithstanding the *ad captandum* appeals constantly made to the "dear people," on their "rights"—the great hobby of every demagogue in church and state—Congregationalism, as a system of church government, does not rapidly spread. All important secessions from our own church, whatever may be their views respecting *our* government, do not adopt the Congregational form for their *own*. And it is conceded, and may be noticed as a remarkable fact, that *fifteen hundred Presbyterian churches were Congregational in their origin*. Our Congregational brethren will mourn over this departure from the "old paths," while our Presbyterian friends will rejoice to see their brethren walking in the "good way."

We had marked a number of passages in this work, that we designed to notice. Our article, however, has reached its pre-



scribed length. We must, therefore, take our leave of our author; but we do it reluctantly. The great candor with which he expresses himself on the "Puritans and their principles," and the questions incidentally introduced, have only tended to increase the esteem in which we before held him. And, though we do not subscribe to *all* his views of church polity, nor to his opinions respecting Arminianism and Calvinism, and the influence which they exert on the cause of civil liberty, yet we can most cheerfully recommend his book. And if our criticisms are considered free, they are so only out of compliment to the claims of the work.

Norwalk Conn., July 1, 1846.

H.

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ART. IV.—*Phædon; or, a Dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul. By Plato. Translated from the original Greek by MADAM DACIER. With Notes and Emendations. To which is prefixed the Life of the Author by Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray. First American, from the rare London edition.*

WE are told by St. Paul, that the heathen "world by wisdom knew not God." And it is equally clear they knew not man, but speculated most wildly upon his nature and destiny. It is true, they were not strangers to the idea of the soul's immortality; but it was so obscured and distorted by their fantastic imaginings, that its moral influence was almost wholly lost. Nor were they uniform in their speculations. Each philosopher struck out a new path, and confidently claimed the admiration of the world for the discovery of truths before unknown.

The fragments of Pythagorean philosophy which have come down to us are so wrapped up in fanciful notions and the mysteries of symbolical numbers, that it is difficult to extract from them any consistent view of the theory of this philosopher. In regard to the human soul, however, it is evident that he taught the notion of transmigration, and of consequence had no rational conceptions of its immortality. Anaxagoras and Archelaus, the instructors of Socrates, taught that animals and men had their origin in the action of the natural elements on each other. Fire acted on water; the earth was hardened by the process; the motion of water gave birth to air; air was held together by fire, and the earth by air. In the mean time the particles of matter being acted upon by the united influence of air, fire, and water, began to stir and form strange combinations: the

product was various grades of animals—among the rest men, who were distinct from all other kinds, and became the ruling race. The mind, or soul, was inborn in all animals alike; and, in all, subject to the same laws and vicissitudes. Socrates seemed in a good degree to disenthral himself from the prevailing darkness and confusion, and to enjoy a glimpse of the true light. And yet his mind appeared incapable of grasping, retaining, or adequately defining, the truths it seemed to perceive, and finally fell back upon the admission of principles irreconcilable with the elevated views that have been claimed for him. On the immortality of the soul, however, it must be conceded, he approached nearer the truth than any other heathen philosopher.

In some respects the writings of Aristotle present a contrast to the doctrines of Socrates. His ideas of God divested him of those attributes with which Socrates and Plato had clothed him; making his agency mechanical and necessary, if not depriving him of existence. And what he says of the soul is so low and unworthy of that elevated subject, as to render him obnoxious to the charge of materialism. The philosophy of Epicurus is still more gross and sensual, insomuch, that it becomes a question, whether his doctrine of "*atoms*," and their varied motions and combinations, does not embrace all he acknowledges of agency, or existence, as to gods and men. This diversity in their philosophy of God and nature, is also a prominent characteristic of their teachings upon the subject of ethics. Some placed the rule of virtue in the will of the gods; others, in expediency; others, in the result of human actions; and others still, in present gratifications—making it the "*summum bonum*" of man, to endeavor to the utmost to increase his pleasures and diminish his pains. Thus we see there was little or no agreement among the sages of antiquity upon the first principles of religion and morals; which clearly enough evinces the necessity of an authoritative standard of doctrine and morals, to which an appeal might be made for a settlement of questions of this kind. The same fact shows the inadequacy of the light of nature to lead to just notions of God and virtue, while it demonstrates most clearly the defectibility and insufficiency of human reason. Without the aid of supernatural light, there is a point in the investigation of divine philosophy beyond which the human mind cannot proceed. There may be a sublime effort to advance, but exhausted by over exertion, and disappointed by the failure to grasp truths beyond its natural reach, the mind falls back to take low and unworthy views of the subjects it cannot comprehend. Failing to raise itself to the

elevation necessary to penetrate the sublime mysteries of natural and religious truth, it drags these subjects down to the groveling standard of its own comprehension. For this reason the philosophy of antiquity made no improvement for ages. If it moved at all, it was in a circle; which, instead of being spiral, became more prone and sensual at every turn.

And the same uncertainty and diversity are still seen in the reasonings of men, who, out of sheer vanity, or intellectual pride, or both, discard the aid of revelation in the pursuits of science and philosophy. The constitution of man, and the end of his existence, are subjects on which reason has repeatedly made demonstrations in proof of her weakness. And nothing can exceed the variety and wildness of the conclusions reached by those who have depended solely upon her deductions. Each one has struck out his own path, and pursued it long enough to involve himself and his followers in the grossest darkness. Some have made man all material—others, all immaterial. Some have degraded him to the meanness of a brute—others have invested him with the prerogatives and attributes of God. And others would make the death of his body the end of his being: while others, still, will allow him (if he can) to survive his physical dissolution, and live on beyond the tomb. And this is no more than might be expected where men either do not possess, or possessing, will not improve, the light of revelation. We might as well expect the moon to give light without the sun, as that reason should be a safe and sufficient guide in relation to such subjects. The philosophers of antiquity searched the productions of human lore: they traveled much, studied much, and wrote much; and yet their views of God and man, of the constitution of nature, of morality and religion, are weak and childish when compared with the consistent faith of even the illiterate Christian of a Christian land.

The above reflections have been suggested, for the most part, by reading the production which stands at the head of this article. We propose, in this paper, a brief review of the argument of the "*Phædon*" on the immateriality and immortality of the soul. We shall attempt, also, to point out wherein the proofs are inconclusive and defective; and then exhibit in contrast the clear and triumphant arguments which reason, rectified and strengthened by revelation, presents in support of this doctrine, connected with the decisive testimony of revelation itself.

It certainly cannot be otherwise than gratifying, even to the



Christian, to know what unenlightened reason can say in proof of a doctrine so closely connected with man's highest aspirations. We can have no motive for undervaluing testimony of this kind, but should rather rejoice that reason, though corrupted and erratic, has nevertheless struggled after truth amidst prevailing darkness. And we may safely allow her teachings all the force their intrinsic merit can justly claim. The Phædon of Plato embraces, without doubt, the concentrated wisdom of antiquity on the immateriality and immortality of the soul. Its author possessed peculiar advantages for collecting the most enlightened views within reach of the human mind, unenlightened by revelation. He was, if not the most able, yet certainly the most fortunate, of the ancient sages. Descended of a noble family, and born at a time which made him cotemporary with the wisest philosophers of the age, and gave him the benefit of their instructions, he was able to take a commanding view of the whole field of philosophy. Besides this, he was for eight years a pupil of the justly celebrated Socrates, and was allowed to be present and listen to the discourses with which he entertained his friends, during the confinement which preceded his execution. He also traveled extensively in Greece, Italy, Africa, and Egypt, consulting all the oracles of wisdom, and drinking from every intellectual and philosophical fountain. When to this we add the natural strength of his intellect, trained and improved by a long and rigid course of study and mental discipline, we need not wonder that he became "*princeps philosophorum*," and presented more consistent and exalted ideas of God, of nature, and of the human soul, than are found in the writings of his cotemporaries. The Phædon contains the summing up of all he had been able to learn from all the sources of information within his reach. We may be confident, therefore, that we have in this production the "*ne plus ultra*" of heathenism upon this interesting subject.

The style of Plato is truly captivating. It is placed by the judgment of Aristotle at an equal distance from the elevation of poesy and the simplicity of prose. Cicero was so pleased with it, that he remarked, "If Jupiter should converse like men, he would clothe his ideas in the language of Plato." Much of the grace and elegance of his style are lost in the process of translation, yet sufficient remains to indicate the ease and flowing eloquence with which he expressed his thoughts.

But though this book contains many just sentiments most beautifully expressed, and the perusal of it is a source of real pleasure to a correct taste, yet if we trace its pages with the expectation of finding those arguments which the mind

requires to *assure* it of immortality, we shall close it in disappointment.

The Phædon is written in the dialogue form, and in the character of Socrates; and claims to be a conversation held between him and his friends on the day of his execution. During the conversation the question was started, "Whether a philosopher should desire to die?" Socrates maintained the affirmative, and supported his position by reference to the good things he might expect in a future state, which constituted that state vastly superior to this. To support the idea of a future state, and of the conscious existence of the soul after death, against the objections of his friends, he offers the following arguments.

*First.* That man was made to know the truth, and it is the highest end of his being to arrive at this knowledge: but we are so clogged and hindered in our aspirations after truth, by the body, that we can never arrive at it until we quit the body. And therefore, the true philosopher should not only endeavor to abstract himself from the body as much as possible, that his views of truth may be the clearer, but he should even desire to die, that his knowledge of it may be perfect. He discourses as follows:—

"Now we have made it out that in order to trace the truth and purity of anything, we should lay aside the body and only employ the soul to examine the objects we perceive; so that we can never arrive at the wisdom we court till after death. Reason is on our side. For if it is impossible to know anything purely while in the body, one of these things must follow:—either the truth is not known, or it is known after death; because, the soul will then be left to itself and freed from its burden, and not before. And while we are in this life, we can only approach to the truth in proportion to our removing from the body, and renouncing all correspondence with it that is not of mere necessity, and keeping ourselves clear from the contagion of its natural corruption, and all its filth, till God himself comes to deliver us. Then, indeed, being freed from all bodily folly, we shall converse, *in all probability*, with men that enjoy the same liberty, and shall know within ourselves the pure essence of things, which, *perhaps*, is nothing but the truth."—Pp. 63, 64.

This reasoning is not destitute of force, though in the mouth of a heathen its conclusiveness is greatly weakened by the defectiveness of the prevailing notions of God, and of the work and designs of creation. Could he have known what the Christian knows, viz., that there is but one God, and he infinite in all his attributes,—that he *created* as well as formed the universe—that he created intelligent beings to be happy, only in knowing and communing with their Maker—that in knowing and enjoying God, we know and enjoy

the highest grade and idea of truth :—then, having established the fact that this knowledge cannot be perfectly attained in this life, it would follow as a legitimate corollary, that we must die to know, and live in a future state to enjoy, the highest end of our being. This is the form the argument assumes in the mouth of a Christian, and, for aught we can see, it is conclusive : but connected with the imperfect knowledge of heathenism in regard to the important facts named above, though not destitute of weight, the argument is necessarily weakened, and associated with doubts and misgivings which fully justify the use of the terms “*perhaps*,” and “*probably*,” employed in the preceding quotation. And, as might be expected, the argument proved unsatisfactory to his friends, who, though they agreed with him in much that he said, yet expressed their doubt upon the main point in the following language :—

“There is only one thing that men look upon as incredible, viz., what you have advanced of the soul. For almost everybody fancies that when the soul parts from the body, it is no more ; it dies along with it ; it vanishes like a vapor, or smoke, which flies off and disperses and has no existence :—but that the soul lives after the death of a man, that it is sensible, that it acts and thinks ; that, I say, needs both insinuation and solid proofs to make it go down.”—Pp. 70, 71.

To supply this lack of evidence, Plato represents Socrates as introducing,—

*Secondly.* An argument founded on the fanciful notion that all things are produced by contraries. This dogma was intimately associated with the idea of transmigration. Which of these ideas claims precedence of the other, or which should sustain the relation of cause, and which that of effect, it seems now difficult to determine : but it is evident they are so related that neither can be dispensed with in making out the argument. Either the notion, that all things spring from their contraries, gave birth to the idea of transmigration, or it was probably invented to keep this last opinion in countenance. But whether the one or the other of these views be true, is not now material. In either case the argument for the immortality of the soul is defective. The position in regard to the material world is first *assumed*,—“all things are produced by contraries ;” then the argument proceeds upon a supposed analogy between the laws which govern matter and spirit ; when no such analogy exists : and it makes death the cause of a positive effect, as though it had a positive existence. The dialogue proceeds :—

“Is not death the opposite of life ? Yes.—And does not one breed the other ? Yes.—What is it that life breeds ? Death.—What is it that death breeds ? It must certainly be life.—Then, says Socrates, all living



things, and man, are bred from death. So I think, says Cebes.—And, therefore, continues Socrates, our souls are lodged in the infernal world after death. The consequence seems just.—Shall not we then attribute to death the virtue of producing its contrary, as well as life? Or shall we say that nature is lame and maimed on that score? There is an absolute necessity, says Cebes, of ascribing to death the generation of its contrary.—What is that contrary? Reviving or returning to life. If there is such a thing as returning to life, it is nothing else than the birth of the dead; and returning to life. And thus we agree that the living are as much the product of the dead, as the dead are of the living; which is an incontestable proof that the souls of the dead must remain in some place or other, whence they may return to life.”—Pp. 74, 75.

All this may have appeared very sound and imposing to Plato, or Socrates and his friends, who believed in the eternity of matter—had no just conceptions of the work of creation—and made death a part of nature—an agent as real, active, and efficient as life itself; but to minds enlightened and directed by the authoritative teaching of God’s Word, this phantasm disappears,

“As the vapor flies, dispersed by lightest blasts,  
—and leaves no trace behind.”

The first fallacy in the argument consists in *assuming* what should have been proved, viz., that “all things are produced by contraries.” That all things have their opposites, is true: but that all things produce their opposites, or are produced by them, is not true. To assume this as truth, would be to fill the world with contradictions: it would follow from this, that the weakest is produced by the strongest, the slowest by the swiftest—that heat and cold, light and darkness, vice and virtue, produce each other; and that a conscious existence is generated by annihilation.

The second fallacy consists in arguing from material to immaterial; in making the laws which govern matter the basis of an argument in regard to spirit. If matter and spirit are entirely different substances, possessing not a single element in common, then it is both unphilosophical and absurd to suppose any analogy between them. Hence, to argue that because in some parts of the material world contraries succeed each other in obedience to the general law of increase and diminution,—therefore the soul must be immortal, is without the least shade of consistency. We can conceive how an analogical argument for the resurrection of the body might be reared upon this basis; but we cannot see how the argument can apply to the soul unless the soul be material, and then it would be too fanciful to have much weight with enlightened minds.

The third fallacy is also an absurdity, and consists in giving death a positive existence. Plato was not alone in this mistake; it was common to the ancients. They made death a part of nature, having his appropriate work assigned him. Hence, as life ended in death, they concluded death would end in life *ad infinitum*. That death will end in life, is an article of Christian faith; but not that it produces life. Death has no power, no existence—is a nonentity. And as that which is nothing can do nothing, hence death cannot produce life. Immortality is the gift of God, not the product of death. Death cannot act as an efficient cause in the production of life, because it has no positive existence. To expect life to arise from death, therefore, is to expect an effect without a cause.

The *third* argument of Plato for the soul's immortality is drawn from what he terms remembrance. And he uses the word, remembrance, as identical with knowledge. All our knowledge in this life, according to Plato, is made up of the remembrance of what we had known in some anterior state of being. As by the law of association, the sight of an object often suggests to the mind other objects with which we were previously familiar: so, when the idea of goodness, justice, or holiness is suggested to the mind; and, indeed, all our acquirements, purely intellectual, by whatever means gained, are but the remembrance and recovery of what we knew in a pre-existent state. From this he argues, (and conclusively enough, if the premise be valid,) that we had an existence anterior to this life, and therefore concludes it reasonable that we should live after death. The following extract we think justifies the above view of this argument:—

“But, continues Socrates, upon seeing the picture of a horse, or a harp, may not one call to mind the man? And, upon seeing the picture of Simmias, may not one think of Cebes? For we have agreed upon this: that it is very possible that a man seeing, hearing, or perceiving one thing by any of his senses, should form to himself the imagination of another thing that he had forgotten:—so that one of two things must necessarily follow; either we were born with this knowledge, and preserved it all along, or else retrieved it afterward by remembrance: and of course our souls had a being before that time; that is to say, before they were invested with a human form; while they were without the body they thought, they knew, and they understood.”—P. 85.

The strength of this argument depends upon the pre-existence of the soul; and this again upon whether our knowledge in this life is remembrance of what we knew in a former life. If it be, then the soul must have lived in a previous state: if not, the idea

of the prior existence of the soul is an unfounded assumption, and affords no proof that the soul will live after death. As neither the doctrine of remembrance, nor the pre-existence of souls, is a self-evident truth, the whole argument moves in a circle; and, clogged as it is with the notion of metempsychosis, it excludes all just conceptions of immortality.

The *fourth* and last argument is drawn from the nature of the soul. The soul is not material, and consequently not subject to the laws by which matter is governed. Plato maintains the uncompounded and immaterial substance of the soul: 1. From the fact that it is always the same, and in the same condition. Material beings are constantly throwing off some of their elements, and receiving others into their composition; and sometimes material bodies are entirely dissipated. The human body is a subject of many changes; but inasmuch as the changes that affect the body do not affect the soul, the soul is not a part of the body; is uncompounded, is incapable of change, and is therefore immaterial.

The fact that the soul is intangible, is also presented as a proof of its immateriality. Material substances are objects of sense—in various ways tangible to the senses: not so the soul; therefore, the soul is immaterial. The same fact is argued from the superior and controlling power of the soul. “Nature orders the body to obey and be a slave, and the soul to command and hold the empire:” and this suits well to the idea of the immaterial and immortal nature of the soul. From the whole he remarks:—

“You see, then, my dear Cebes, the necessary result of all is, that our soul bears a strict resemblance to what is divine, immortal, intellectual, simple, indissoluble; and is always the same, and always like it: and that our body does perfectly resemble what is human, mortal, sensible, compounded, dissoluble; always changing, and never like itself.”—P. 95.

The following will show the most enlightened view of heathenism, in regard to the future condition of a soul leaving this world under favorable circumstances:—

“If the soul retains its purity without any mixture of filth from the body, as having entertained no voluntary correspondence with it, but, on the contrary, having always avoided it, and recollected itself within itself, in continual meditations; that is, in studying the true philosophy, and effectually learning to die;—for philosophy is a preparation for death:—I say, if the soul departs in this condition, it repairs to a being like itself, a being that is divine, immortal, and full of wisdom; in which it enjoys an inexpressible felicity, in being freed from its errors, its ignorance, its fears, its amors, that tyrannized over it, and all the other



evils pertaining to human nature ; and, as it is said of those who have been initiated in holy mysteries, it truly passes a whole course of eternity with the gods."—P. 97.

Such were the arguments employed, and such the conclusion to which Socrates conducted his auditors, as related by Plato. There is evidently considerable plausibility and some force in much that he presented ; but at the same time there is much that is assumed, vague, fanciful, and entirely unsatisfactory to minds enlightened by revelation. Even that which appears entitled to respect, becomes much more so when freed from the clogs of heathenism, and presented, as it may be, by reason, rectified and strengthened by God's Word. Under the elevated and sublime teachings of the Bible, what is chimerical and false is exploded ; and what is true, is rescued from the darkness in which its beautiful proportions were seen but dimly, if at all, and raised to the exalted rank of truths, grand and immutable. But these arguments, defective as they are, were all they had ; and though not unconnected with painful misgivings, were, nevertheless, relied upon by many with much confidence in proof of the soul's immortality. Cato, having carefully read the *Phædon* twice over, committed suicide : and Socrates, having finished his conversations with his friends, calmly drank off the fatal hemlock, apparently in the confident belief of a perpetuity of existence in another world.

But it is now time to turn our attention to the last, and to us the most pleasing, part of our present design ; viz., an exhibition of the arguments which reason and revelation furnish in support of the great truth under consideration.

It must we think be conceded that man did originally possess correct views of the immateriality and immortality of his nature. But the causes associated with his apostasy, which produced ignorance and corruption in other respects, also led the human mind astray upon this point, until it wandered in the mazes of unfounded speculation, under an entire misapprehension of his spiritual nature and exalted destiny. And for the most part the world remained in this state up to the time of the advent of Christ. To this, however, the Jews are an exception. To them were committed the oracles of God ; the incipient state of that revelation which to us is perfectly unfolded. And so far as they exerted a religious influence upon others, and others became acquainted with their sacred writings, darkness receded, and the true light advanced. This may account, in part at least, for the near approach made by some heathen writers to the true idea of the soul

and its immortality. The light of heathenism upon this point is either the "*reliquum*" of an ancient revelation, preserved by tradition, though variously corrupted ; or it is a partial recovery of lost knowledge by the indirect agency of more recent divine communications. But whether it be the one or the other, or a combination of both, it leaves them without the *faith of assurance*, to endure the misery of a fruitless struggle between hope and fear. The Christian alone is raised above the influence of doubt, having arguments at command which amount to a moral demonstration. Not only does revelation speak out upon this point with a voice clear and authoritative ; but reason, freed from her darkness and disabilities by divine influence, approaches the work of collecting and arranging arguments with advantages of a very superior character. In the remarks which follow,

I. Our first position is, that man possesses a spiritual nature ; or that his soul is an immaterial essence or substance ; and though mysteriously connected with a material body, yet differing entirely from it in nature, and not subject to the laws by which matter is governed. The works of creation, in all their vastness and variety, may be reduced to two grand divisions, matter and mind ; and these two elements enter into the composition of man. We have as much evidence of the existence of matter and mind, therefore, as of our own existence ; and no proof can exceed this. And the proof that mind exists is as great as that for the existence of matter. Indeed, if there is any difference, it is in favor of mind. The fact that we recognize the existence of matter is itself an evidence of the existence of mind, for it is only by the operations of mind that any ideas of matter can be formed. Though we cannot explain the nature or essence of either matter or mind, we are not on that account any the less sure of their being.

1. We argue the possession of a spiritual nature by man from the fact that he is a living, sensitive, self-moving being. The bare fact that man lives may not be a valid proof of his immateriality ; but that he lives, a being of passion and volition, can only be accounted for by supposing the presence and influence of an immaterial soul. And for a very good reason : these phenomena are never exhibited by mere matter. We are acquainted with various forms of material substance, but we know of no form which of its own nature possesses the powers belonging to living and active beings. We behold around us various forms of matter in motion, but no one supposes material bodies move themselves ; and the fact of their being in motion is proof to all, except the atheistic madman, of the existence of some power or influence superior to,







and independent of, matter. But when we add to motion, sensation and volition, we have not only evidence of the existence of something superior to matter, but that that something is mysteriously connected with it, and makes it capable of its varied phenomena. If the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the order of the various parts of the material universe, are an evidence of the existence of an all-wise and almighty Being, by whose agency and skill all their complicated machinery is directed and managed; we argue, in like manner, that the ease with which man can manage the powers and parts of his body, and direct and control the whole physical frame, is no less an evidence of the existence, in mysterious union with the human body, of an immaterial nature, without which, though he might possess organic life and mechanical motion, yet he could not be a sensitive, self-moving being. This argument may be summed up as follows:—Matter, though it may be acted upon or moved, cannot move itself; but man can move himself: therefore man is not wholly a material being. Again: matter is incapable of sensation; but man is a sensitive being: therefore there is something besides matter which enters into the composition of man; and philosophy and religion have agreed to call it an immaterial soul.

2. The fact that man is an intelligent being is also in proof of his spiritual nature. It is true there has been a mighty effort on the part of a vain and skeptical philosophy to account for human intelligence without acknowledging an immaterial nature, but the failure has been as signal as the effort. The usual course pursued by materialists is to make intelligence the product of organization. Though they concede the point that unorganized matter has not the power of thought; yet, by a strange inconsistency, they contend, when organized in a certain form it becomes intelligent, and exhibits the varied phenomena of thought and feeling. But this notion is both unphilosophical and absurd. It is an axiom in philosophy that organized bodies do not and cannot possess any powers or tendencies which do not belong to the elements of which they are composed. If unorganized matter be destitute of the quality of thought, then it is absurd to suppose any possible combinations of material particles should create such quality. However we may vary the forms and combinations of matter, it is matter still, and nothing more—we can embrace no new circumstance in its description. And as the elements of which compound material bodies are composed are perfectly unintelligent, they must remain so in their compound state, however complicated and wonderful the combination may be. Hence the idea that intelligence is

the product of organization is a chimera. Nor does it obviate the difficulty to suppose, as some have done, that a faculty of thinking has been appended to some material bodies. For this faculty, or power to think, is something or it is nothing: if it be nothing, it can do nothing, and cannot be the subject of consideration; but if it be something, there must be some substance in which it inheres, and on which it depends for its existence, for it would be an absurdity to suppose it depends upon no substance at all; and as we have already seen it does not inhere in, and depend upon, a material substance, hence it must depend upon an immaterial substance, there being no other alternative. And this is all we contend for: this is what we mean by man's spiritual nature. Moreover, intelligence, though usually connected with the perfectly organized human body, is not a necessary concomitant. Proofs of this may be found in a consideration of the creation of the first man. God formed him of the dust of the earth; and we must suppose him to have been perfectly organized before "the inspiration of the Almighty gave him understanding." All parts of the system, including the *brain*, which all acknowledge to be the material organ of the outward manifestation of mind, were as perfectly arranged, and fitted for their several uses, as at any time afterward—he had all the attributes of the man, so far as relates to the material system; and yet was utterly destitute of life and motion, to say nothing of intelligence, and he remained so until God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul." Here, then, is a clear case of a perfectly formed body without life or intelligence.

Finally. The phenomena of dreaming, of suspended animation, and of death, are in proof of the independence of thought and mind over matter. Intelligence does not always continue with the perpetuity of the physical organization, nor while continued is it always exhibited in the same degree of perfection. It may, and often does, cease, while the strictest examination cannot detect any disarrangement of the brain or any other part of the system. And this takes place where no external physical cause has acted upon the body, where the only agency to which the phenomenon can be referred is the action of intelligence on intelligence, or the independent action of thought. On the other hand, the body may be reduced by the action of disease to a mere skeleton, the physical powers are all prostrated, not one can be called into action; but the mind does not decay: the pulse ceases, the extremities become cold, the death rattle is in the throat; but reason holds her empire, and marked and clear is the manifestation of thought and in-



telligence. That which "triumphs within the jaws of mortality" must be independent of matter, and "is doubtless immortal."

The above considerations prove that intelligence does not and cannot arise out of the nature of compound material bodies, and by consequence prove man's spirituality. This argument may be summed up thus:—Intelligence can only arise from a spiritual substance; but man is an intelligent being: therefore man possesses a spiritual nature.

3. The immateriality of the human soul is clearly established by the Scriptures. The passage already referred to is in proof of this point. God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul." From this it appears that man was not "a living soul" by virtue of his physical organization, but by virtue of that nature imparted to him when God "breathed into him the breath of life." Then first he received his spiritual nature, his "living soul:" then first he stood up, and walked forth erect into the world created to receive him, an intelligent being, capable of holding communion with his Maker, and dominion over the works of his hands. The passage which declares God made man "in his own image," is also decisive of the same fact. The corporeal nature of man could not have been made in the image of God—God possesses no such nature, no such image; the allusion therefore must be to the spiritual nature of man, including his moral likeness. "God is a spirit," an intelligent spirit, and he made man in his own image; that is, he gave him a spiritual and intelligent nature. The language employed by our Lord (Luke xii, 4) makes a clear distinction between the body and soul: the former he declares may be killed, while the latter remains unhurt. The passage in Job xxxii, 8, is also directly to our purpose: "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." If "there is a spirit in man," then he is not wholly material; and if the "inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding," then his understanding, his intelligence, is not the result of any combination of the particles of matter, but of that spiritual nature given him of God when he "breathed into him the breath of life, and he became a living soul." As any further multiplication of Scripture testimonies seems unnecessary, we close the argument upon this point by simply repeating the remark, that in the composition of man we have as much proof of an immaterial soul as of a material body. Though we cannot explain the nature or essence of either, yet we know they exist, by the best of evidence, consciousness and our senses. We know matter exists, whether in our own composition or elsewhere, by an enu-

meration of its sensible qualities; and in like manner we prove the existence of mind, by a consideration of mental phenomena. We know we possess a body, by the evidence of our senses; and equally sure are we that we possess a mind, of a substance differing from the body, because we think, feel, remember, compare, reason, judge, will, &c. No proof can exceed this, and it is as conclusive in the one case as in the other. With these remarks in support of the doctrine of man's spiritual nature, we proceed

II. To the arguments furnished by reason and revelation to establish the soul's immortality. As our limits are prescribed, we shall not be able to give more than a general outline; and in doing this we will first listen to the voice of reason.

1. It seems necessary to allow a conscious existence in another and future state to justify the ways of God to man. God is a universal governor; and, as he is an infinitely good and just being, he must be a righteous governor. But if we confine our views of his administration to the present life, his government cannot be justified. God being infinitely perfect, his laws must be perfect; his laws being perfect, they must have an equal bearing upon his subjects: but if his administration be confined to the narrow precincts of this world, his laws and government bear most unequally, and there is no remedy. In this world, for the most part, the wicked bear rule. They are lofty in their claims, unjust and oppressive in their measures. Virtue is persecuted, down-trodden; and often receives the punishment due to crime. Where is the remedy, if the empire of God extends not beyond this life? We must change our views of the goodness of God, and the equity and impartiality of his proceedings; or enlarge the field of his operations, and give his government a broader sweep, that it may embrace both time and eternity. And if the government of God must pass over from this to another state that its perfect results may be unfolded, the existence of man must be perpetuated that he may reap the benefit of a perfect administration.

2. The credibility of man's future existence is supported by the analogy of nature. Almost every department of animated nature furnishes us with examples of a transition from one state of existence to another, as remarkable, and, before experience has established its certainty, as incredible, as any that can be supposed necessary to man that he may live in a future state. Not to dwell upon the examples usually employed upon this subject, we will refer only to a single illustration—man himself. That man in the embryo or infantile state should pass into a new world, or rise from helpless infancy to the active business man, the warrior, the

statesman, the philosopher, the orator, would be as incredible before the demonstration of experience, as that man as he now is should make his transit from this to a conscious future state. And the change he experiences in passing from the embryo or infantile state to the condition of perfect manhood is as *great* as that which we can suppose necessary that he may inhabit another world. But the change first mentioned, however incredible before experience, is a common and obvious fact, and hence excites no surprise. It follows, therefore, as man is in this life the subject of a change as great as may be necessary to introduce him to another life, it can never be incredible that he should pass through that other change, live in another world, and move in a higher and better sphere.\*

3. The supposition of man's future state is further strengthened by the fact that the soul cannot be affected by the power of death. We cannot argue against the immortality of the soul from the nature of death, because we know nothing of its nature. And we cannot argue against the immortality of the soul from the effects of death, unless we can prove the soul to be a compounded substance. We see the effect of death upon the body. It is decomposed, resolved into its original elements. We are sure the body is dead; but we cannot say this of the soul. It is true we lose sensible communion with the mind that once animated the body; but it is not because the mind has ceased to exist, or has lost any of its original powers, but because of the dissolution of the material organ through which it made itself known to the external world. Moreover, the soul being a simple, indivisible essence or substance, not subject to the laws which govern matter, and hence indissoluble, cannot be affected by the power of death. For all that death can do, then, the soul may live for ever. Indeed, as our first introduction to this world was the vacation of our first sphere, or the incipient state of our being, that we might enjoy another more ample; so it seems to accord well both with philosophy and reason that death should be to us a sort of second birth, a vacation of our present sphere for one still more ample in means and opportunities for developing the capacities of our natures.

4. And this high destiny of the soul may be still further supported by a consideration of the nature and adaptation of its powers. It is capable of memory, reflection, imagination, contemplation, volition, reason, and of being moved with religious veneration. Most, if not all, these modes of the manifestation of mind are in

\* See Butler's Analogy, where this point is illustrated in a most ample, able, and forcible manner.



their proper sense peculiar to man. And another peculiarity is that improvement of which the powers of the soul are susceptible. Brutes soon reach their zenith. There is with them no commencement to learn, and indefinite progression in knowledge and mechanical skill: their little all of knowledge flows in at once. Not so with man. "There is not a voluntary muscular movement, from that of the infant holding a spoon to the most skillful use of the hands and fingers in the nicest and most curious arts, where there is not a beginning of skill, and then a gradual growth toward perfection, induced by intense and persevering efforts on the part of the will to work according to some purpose or aim of the intelligence."\* Under favorable circumstances "the patriarch pupil" goes on improving the powers of his mind, and enlarging the boundaries of mental vision, even to the sunset of human life; and, for aught we know, may continue to do so world without end. Also, the mind is adapted to the contemplation of subjects of an eternal nature. For instance, the idea of eternal duration. We have no evidence that any being made to inhabit this world, except man, can take in this idea, or pursue it a single step. To this we may add the moral government of God, and the infinite attributes of his nature. These are boundless subjects, involving considerations which pass beyond the present sphere of human activity, and afford eternal employment for immortal minds. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that minds fitted by original constitution for the investigation and contemplation of such subjects should be immortal; otherwise there is no adequate opportunity for a full development of their powers, or to move in that elevated sphere for which their capabilities have prepared them. The mind is formed to contemplate the attributes, works, and government of God, and to be religiously affected by the survey. And is it reasonable to suppose that just as we begin to open our eyes upon the wonderful works of God, and to appreciate the evidences of his "eternal power and godhead," they will be closed to these subjects for ever? That the emotions of veneration and gratitude we feel rising within us toward the Author of our being, in view of his glorious perfections and bountiful goodness, will be checked and annihilated before they come to maturity? That just as we begin to develop the lofty attributes of mind in laudable pursuits, the coruscating fires of genius will be quenched in eternal night? That the aspiring soul, animated with the desire of immortality, will be suddenly checked in its upward tendency, and fall into nothingness? Is this reasonable? Is it not rather reasonable that

\* Tappan on the Will, vol. iii, page 58.

we do but throw aside the old dress to assume a new one, and change our place of residence to pursue the objects of our being under circumstances of a more favorable character?

5. That the soul will live in immortality may be argued from its innate and indomitable desire for such destiny. By indulgence man may possess himself of many artificial appetites and desires, which are in no important respect necessary to his happiness; but so far as his desires are innate he cannot be happy without their gratification. Among his innate desires we may reckon the aspiration for immortality. This is universal. It is a concomitant of all forms of religion, and of every degree of civilization. It has its form of expression as well in the gloom of heathenism as the cheerful light of Christianity. The magnificent pyramids and rock-hewn tombs of Egypt are the outward imbodiment of this "longing after immortality." The mind may be in darkness and doubt as to the fact, but the desire still lingers, until depravity perverts our natures, and our crimes make us afraid to live.\* The desire being inherent in our constitution, God is its author; and God being its author, he must have intended its gratification. For it is not supposable that God would give us a constitution, out of which arises naturally, and necessarily, the desire—the prospect of perpetual life—and provide no corresponding reality. The indulgence of such a thought would be a reflection upon the divine character. The bare fact that God has given us this ambition to live is itself a sure and certain pledge of an endless state of being.

"Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,  
This longing after immortality?

Or whence this secret dread, and inward horror  
Of falling into naught? Why shrinks the soul  
Back on herself, and startles at destruction?

'Tis the divinity that stirs within us;

'Tis Heaven itself that points out an hereafter,  
And intimates eternity to man."—*Addison's Cato*.

Without pretending to have given more than a brief synopsis of the argument from reason, our limits oblige us to check this train of thought here, and close by introducing the testimony of divine revelation.

6. The testimony of Holy Writ would be conclusive without any other; but supported as it is by arguments of another kind, it has peculiar force. Its voice is clear and distinct in the announcement of man's immortality.

\* Fear of future retribution may overrule, or suppress, though it cannot annihilate, the desire for immortality.

First. It reveals the existence of spirit unconnected with matter. This it is true is a fact which now commends itself to our reason; but whether reason would have been able to discover it without the aid of revelation is very questionable. "God is a spirit," is the language of the Bible: a spirit who exists "from everlasting to everlasting;" whose influence is diffused through infinite space, and whose intelligence is seen in the formation and government of the universe. We have another example in the revelation given us of angels, who are denominated "ministering spirits;" and whose employment, and proximity to the throne of the uncreated God, prove they cannot be invested with corporeal natures like our own. But if intelligent spirits do exist unconnected with matter, we need not suppose the intelligent spirit of man in any sense dependent upon matter for its existence.

Second. The Bible goes further, and reveals the conscious existence of man in a future state. The fathers, where are they? Where are Enoch and Elijah, who went to heaven in a supernatural way? Where are faithful Abraham, pious Isaac, and wrestling Jacob? Our Lord tells us, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living;" and yet he announces himself "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." The bodies of these old patriarchs crumbled to dust more than three thousand years ago; and yet they live in heaven, pure and spotless—they dwell in the presence of the God who made them. In regard to the future condition of infants, the Saviour remarks, "Their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." And again, to the thief upon the cross, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." But enough upon this point: man lives in a future state.

Third. Finally, the Scriptures declare the *eternity* of man's future state. This we learn emphatically from the manner in which they speak of the rewards and punishments of men in another world. These are described in language which indicates being without end. The phrases, "eternal weight of glory," "eternal damnation," "everlasting punishment," "everlasting life," "eternal life," &c., establish with a clearness and authority indisputable the immortality of man as a subject of future retribution. Indeed, the whole gospel scheme proceeds upon the supposition that man is destined to a future and endless existence, without which much of it would be entirely unmeaning; and it is this fact that gives such tremendous weight to the sanctions by which obedience to its claims is enforced.

A just appreciation of the subject discussed in this article cannot fail to impress upon the mind the most lofty ideas of the dignity,



accountability, and destiny of man. It sheds a light upon this world which relieves the darkness of its dispensations; places it in fearful relation to another and endless state; and, as a probation for the future, invests it with an awful and unmeasured interest. Living, as we do, under the clear light and commanding voice of revealed truth, we cannot doubt as to the final issue. As Christians, "we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, *eternal* in the heavens." We know it by the authority, not of Plato, but of Jesus Christ.

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ART. V.—*Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches: with Elucidations*, by THOMAS CARLYLE.

THANKS, many thanks, to thee, Thomas Carlyle! Truly thou hast set thee a task Herculean, and like a Hercules thou hast done it! A mighty diver, struggling with holden breath and strong agony of limb to bring up orient pearls from their deep sea bed, were but feeble type of thee! Thou hast brought up truth from the very bottom of Lethe, lustrous, dazzling, from its coffin of weed, as before the tide of time piled upon it its drift of things immemorable! Thou hast stormed the very refuge of lies! Thou hast rolled away a great stone from the grave of the virtues; and evoked from the forgotten world a new heroism to confound the skeptical in human earnestness! From the confused places of the unintelligible thou hast produced a living, consistent truth, to confirm the faith of the just! And for this, thy brave deed, we love thee, Thomas! Albeit thy speech be strange and wild, and thy brain fanciful, yet in thee there is heart of fire! It may be thou hast zeal surpassing knowledge, and ordinary eyes may see that thou lackest the peculiar virtue which truth to say is commonest and least virtuous of them all. Thou art not *prudent*, Thomas! And in thine enthusiastic zeal for truth thou art not always truthful. We speak not of thy story, for thy record is past question of fidelity; but thou dost not weigh thy hero fairly, evenly, in the balances. Thou layest thy heavy hand not gently on the beam, and givest light weight of virtue. Thou hast forgotten the human nature of great Oliver, and showed him forth immaculate. Yet, verily, there were spots upon him. Spots, as upon the glorious sun, seen only by excess of splendor. Points,

not dark, but less effulgent, which yet the common eye must veil to look upon.

How valuable the reproduction of these Letters and Speeches is to the present world will be judged very differently by different men. To the multitude it is entirely true that

“The age of the Puritans is not extinct only and gone away, but it is as if fallen beyond the capabilities of memory herself. It is grown unintelligible: what we may call incredible. Its earnest purport awakens now no resonance in their frivolous hearts. They understand not, even in imagination, one of a thousand of them, what it ever could have meant. It seems delirious, delusive. The sound of it has become tedious as a tale of past stupidities. Not the body of heroic Puritanism only, which was bound to die; but the soul of it also, which was, and should have been, and yet shall be, immortal, has for the present passed away.”

Indeed, practical Christianity (and Puritanism was but practical Christianity in unusual, but in natural and healthy, action) has always been a thing unintelligible to the great herd of mankind. In whatever way its wonderful nature has been developed, to them it has been utterly incomprehensible. Its principles are so diametrically opposed to the established rules of human policy, and its practices so inconsistent with the natural estimate of worldly good, that conduct governed strictly by its precepts must always confound the philosophy of this world. “Paul, thou art beside thyself,” conveys the most charitable decision of ordinary men upon cases of extraordinary virtue. More commonly dark designs are suspected to hide under the mask of unusual goodness, and greater purity is reputed only more cunning and more malignant evil. Even professed Christians for the most part are profoundly ignorant of the power of spiritual life. Many adopt the forms of religion who never comprehend its mysterious essence. They conform to its code of lesser morals, they acknowledge its laws, fear its penalties, and have some vague hope of its ultimate rewards; but its renewing power never calls into life the heroic energies of another nature, and inspires them with the holy and powerful passions of Christianity. Their religion is but a baptized and decent carnalism; better certainly than brazen wickedness, but resembling genuine piety only as the embalmed corpse resembles the living body. To them (and of such the churches mostly consist) the truly righteous appear to be enthusiasts in piety, and Pharisees in devotion. Earnestness in the great matter of salvation is to them unintelligible. They are men of order, they are men of peace; they would have the great question between

right and wrong adjusted upon the convenient principle of "uti possedetis." No matter if deadly error be disseminated; no matter though God's truth be outrageously assailed: it is uncharitable to encounter sin; it is not courteous to resist the devil; it only does harm to defend truth; it strengthens evil to enforce righteousness. From their very soul they abhor movements. To all such people the recollection of Oliver Cromwell is the memory of an incarnate fiend; or, if they allow him general honesty of purpose, he appears to them a fiery zealot, fierce, ruthless, and bloody; sanctifying violence by prayer, and celebrating slaughter with psalms. He was in no sense a man of the world, of this world, of their world; and they can by no possibility form any opinion of his conduct or character but what is entirely erroneous. Passive goodness completes their estimate of angelic perfection: untroubled rest is their maximum of heaven; and what know they, what can they know, of the powerful emotions of the living soul? How may they conceive of the stern will to die daily; to sacrifice present ease, life's ease, upon the altar of abstract hopes; to contend manfully, with every energy of soul, body, and spirit, against the dominion of sin, within the man and without? What know they of the courage that fears nothing in earth or hell which may thrust between the determined spirit and its destiny? What know courtiers and politicians, and bookmen and the common herd of men; what know they of the mind and soul, the resolves and purposes, of Oliver Cromwell? He was not one of them. A mad thunderbolt blazing across the confused darkness of a stormy time, striking down man and horse, king and commoners, parliament and presbytery, Scotch and Irish: having no law but its own impetus, no check but its own extinction; no object, no design; a mere instrument of evil, a grand firework of the mischievous devil: such is the vision of Oliver to many who think not at all. And there are others who think too much, after their fashion of thinking; the sagacious people; they who know how to divine men's thoughts, which they all unconsciously have thought; to uncover the secret springs of conduct, mysterious only to themselves. They can tell to the nicety of a homœopathic dilution the precise weight of ambition that turned the scale of Oliver's deliberations; and the very moment when his religion changed from gloomy to fanatical, and his fanaticism from crazy sincerity to crafty hypocrisy.

In short, Oliver Cromwell's character could not but be misunderstood in his own day, and in all days since; and the world must become vastly wiser and better before his fame can be appreciated upon just principles, and his rank among the heroes ultimately settled.



Under any circumstances it must have been so; but when we remember that Cromwell was the chief actor in a civil war, in which all that is worth fighting for and living for was at stake; a war against established wrong and habitual evil; against chartered rights, and old superstitions, and poetical recollections; a war against kings and priests, against dignities and vices; a war in which everything desirable by the one party was arrayed against all considered valuable by the other: when we remember the extraordinary and fearful details of the strife, and especially the great culminating act, in the then state of the world—the unspeakably daring, astounding act of executing a crowned king!—we may well believe that a truthful history of the man is not to be obtained from his enemies. Yet they have hitherto been his historians; and a sad history they have given us. Certainly, the genius of the present day had begun to raise doubts as to the degree of Cromwell's monsterhood; nay, some had even begun to conjecture that he might have been no monster at all; but few, perhaps none, were prepared for the truth. Yet he must be a prejudiced man indeed who can read these Letters and Speeches without conviction that the great man who wrote and uttered them was a pious, God-fearing man, sincere and humble to the last; altogether the best man and the best monarch that ever ruled the destinies of England. Yet how different the common notion of him! "Born of a good family, but early given to dissipation: afterward pretending to religion, and acting the hypocrite with such consummate skill as to deceive the most truly pious: suffering his affairs to fall into ruin by the length of his prayers and the general abstraction of his manner: urged by want to rebellion, fanaticism, and ambition: indebted to accident and intrigue for his success, he contrived to build up his fortunes on his country's ruin: waded through blood to the supreme power, being deterred by no crime from the prosecution of his own willful designs: suffered at the end of his career the agonies of remorse: and though in his domestic relations after his marriage altogether exemplary, yet leaving to posterity no better reputation than that of a character which was a compound of all the vices and all the virtues [small number, we opine] which spring from inordinate ambition and wild fanaticism." Thus is Oliver described in the school books, and this is the image men see of him!

Now Mr. Carlyle, and Mr. Carlyle's researches, flatly contradict all this. Our author stands solitary and alone against an army of detractors, and against universal prejudice. He declares that all previous history of Cromwell is false, and unworthy of the least

credit ; a sheer gathering of lies and utterance of libels ; and this startling assertion is fully sustained by the unimpeachable evidence which this wonderful man has exhumed from piles of musty papers, long unread and hardly readable. There is, alas ! but little trust in what men call testimony. Even when observed most closely, and sifted most patiently, it often deceives us. The events of our own times, the deeds done in our own neighborhood and just beyond the scope of our own vision, are doubtful to us ; subjects of keen dispute and antagonist opinion. Human infirmity observes wrongly, remembers wrongly, narrates wrongly, infers wrongly : an infinity of questions are already postponed to eternity, as not possible to be settled in time. If such be contemporary history, what reliance can be placed upon that of ages past ? Were men less infirm then ? Did they observe better ? remember better ? Had they passions, prejudices ? When we were boys we firmly believed the beautiful stories of Greece and Rome. Hector, and Achilles, and Æneas, and Romulus, and Numa, were all realities to us then. Perhaps there were such men ; but how unlike the heroes of our sophomore year !

In fact, our knowledge and our opinions of past events, and of the characters of those who figured in them, are often utterly erroneous, even when gathered from the most authentic sources. To some extent this is unavoidable, since we can know nothing of the past but through history and tradition, which can never be entirely accurate and just ; but we often abandon ourselves to error when a little reflection and inquiry would save us from mistake. We are too apt to regard history as authority for belief ; and we rarely inquire by whom, and under what circumstances, and for what purposes, it was written. Still less are we disposed to go behind the author's statements, to inquire into the sources of his knowledge, to cross-examine his witnesses and estimate the force of their testimony. Few men think at all, and of the few who do, very few think logically. The time may come when the minds of men will be used in some sort as they were intended to be, but the time is not yet.

One thing is rapidly becoming certain as knowledge increases ; and that is, that the whole thing of human authorities is for the most part a delusion. We write things to-day which are denied and controverted by many, by the most : a hundred years to come, the book becomes respectable : should accident preserve it a thousand, it becomes sacred. Time will sanctify it, errors and all, as it has the records of the early churches. We have scarcely a book, whether it treats of things political or religious, which was

not written by a warm partisan, and is not full of as sheer special pleading as the efforts of lawyers in the courts of justice.

It is curious, when opportunity offers, to trace up a generally admitted fact, through its successive reiterations, as it has descended from generation to generation, to its original statement, and observe upon what authority the whole fabric rests. Frequently we may find the world upon the elephant, the elephant on the tortoise, and the tortoise on nothing. Will it be believed that our particular knowledge of Oliver Cromwell, the most extraordinary man, of the most extraordinary age, of the most extraordinary people under heaven, rests upon no better authority than that of a miserable, obscure pamphleteer, a mere court scribbler to Charles II., whose dingy libel was going through the press at the very time that the disinterred corpse of Cromwell was swinging in chains, and all Britain cringing under the scorpion lash of that wretched man whom God seemed to have sent back as the very worst plague for the obstinate king-worship of the people? Yet such is the truth. Mr. Carlyle went seriously to work to follow up the chain of narration from the present school-book histories to its beginning in contemporary writings; and after a search as laborious as the exploration of the Niger, he has discovered the first spring of all the foul and bitter stream in the

“‘Flagellium; or, the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, the late Usurper: by James Heath.’ Which was got ready as soon as possible on the back of the ‘Annus Mirabilis, or Glorious Restoration;’ and is written in such a spirit as we may fancy. When restored potentates and high dignitaries had dug up above a hundred buried corpses, and flung them in a heap in St. Mary’s church-yard, the corpse of Admiral Blake among them, and Oliver’s old mother’s corpse; when the dead clay of Oliver, and Ireton, and Bradshaw, were hanging on Tyburn gallows; when high dignitaries and potentates were in such humor, what could be expected of poor pamphleteers and gazeteers?”

True enough! And we should blush, every one of us who is capable of honest shame should blush, that we never thought all this before, but permitted the memory of Cromwell—dear to liberty, dear to God’s truth, as that memory is—to be lied out of all reality by such a creature as this “son of the king’s cutler” writing the history of a man whose fleshless bones were rattling on a gallows. Alas! to what painful truths does honest inquiry lead reluctant thought.

The biography now presented to us in the form of these Letters and Speeches is liable to none of the objections so forcibly urged against the authority of ordinary history. They present the facts,



the raw material of knowledge, in unadulterated purity. Mr. Carlyle has merely translated them from the antiquated, unintelligible language in which they were written, and elucidated them by such remarks as were, or seemed to him to be, necessary. They are now before us, in good modern print and white paper—the private, confidential, and business letters of Oliver Cromwell, written during a long series of years, full of his own reflections, and containing his own statements of the several great occurrences of his life. We have here a transcript of the mind and soul of Oliver, in every state of outward circumstances and inward emotion; and these must afford a correct account of the man and his times. His speeches, too, are full expositions of his own conduct, made before the men who knew him best; made, too, with a plainness and perspicuity which disprove all suspicion of sincerity. Hypocrisy so consummate as never for a moment to forget, during a long and extraordinarily busy life; dissimulation, perfect under all circumstances of triumph or adversity, preserved toward family and children, as well as friends and officers; deception begun in youth, maintained unfailingly through life, and sustained completely even in the hour and article of death,—would be a miracle of art wholly inconsistent with human imperfection.

We have, therefore, an opportunity rarely offered in the prosecution of historical inquiry; an opportunity to judge the character of a great man and his times by evidence abundant and indubitable, not garbled by narrators, not liable to any suspicion of unfairness. We can try Oliver Cromwell far more justly than men of his own time could try him; we can judge the times in which he lived, and the characters prominent in those times, even better than he could judge them.

One of the most remarkable impressions made upon the mind of Mr. Carlyle himself upon the reading of all the old letters, speeches, and documents of all kinds belonging to Puritan history, is that the men of that day were true men; that we may read their utterances without painful effort to guess at hidden meanings concealed by artful words. The age was honest, in its goodness and its wickedness: whatever else it was, it was not deceitful. Our author says,—

“In the history of the civil war, far and wide, I have not fallen in with any such thing as deliberate falsehood. I will counsel the reader to leave all that of cant, dupery, Machiavelism, &c., decisively lying at the threshold. He will be wise to believe that these Puritans do mean what they say; and to try unimpeded if he can discover what that is. Gradually a very stupendous phenomenon may rise on his astonished eye, a practical world based on belief in God.”

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599. His father was Robert Cromwell, younger son of Sir Henry Cromwell, and younger brother of Sir Oliver Cromwell, "who dwelt successively, in rather sumptuous fashion, at the mansion of Hichinbrook, hard by." We will spare our readers his mother's pedigree, and all further notice of his ancestry. It matters little whether his family were obscure or noble, as certainly they owe all memory of them to him. It is well to observe, however, that he was not a brewer, or in any way associated with persons of coarse manners and vulgar minds. His family were highly respectable, and seem from what account we have of them to have been worthy of all respect. Oliver himself was carefully and religiously educated: first at the public school at Huntingdon, and subsequently at Cambridge. The death of his father recalled him from the university, when only eighteen; and he continued to live with his widowed mother until, and for many years subsequent to, his marriage.

There is not the smallest evidence that he was at any time a wild liver: on the contrary, all authentic information with regard to his early years confirms us in the supposition that he was grave, perhaps stern, even in his youth. His manners were formed in the society of sober and godly people, who were already forming that distinctive character and those close associations which in after times produced such extraordinary results. Oliver married before he was twenty-two years of age. His wife was Elizabeth Bouchier, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, knight, an opulent country gentleman. This connection shows that Cromwell was ranked among the gentry of the country, and disproves all stories of his original vulgarity. He was, in truth, a well-educated young man, of strong mind, severe morals, and good estate, who for ten years after marriage continued to farm his lands in quietness, and take care of his family with commendable prudence. One of Mr. Carlyle's characteristic paragraphs will be interesting to many of our readers:—

"In those years it must be that Dr. Simcott, physician in Huntingdon, had to do with Oliver's hypochondriac maladies. He told Sir Philip Warwick, unluckily specifying no date, or none that has survived, 'he had often been sent for at midnight.' Mr. Cromwell for many years was very 'splenetic,' often thought he was just about to die, and also 'had fancies about the Town Cross.' Brief intimation, of which the reflective reader may make a great deal. Samuel Johnson, too, had hypochondrias. All great souls are apt to have; and to be in thick darkness generally until the eternal ways and the celestial guiding stars disclose themselves, and the vague abyss of life knit itself up into firmaments for them. Temptations in the wilderness, choices

of Hercules, and the like, in succinct or loose form, are appointed for every man that will assert a soul in himself and be a man. Let Oliver take comfort in his dark sorrows and melancholies. The quantity of sorrow that he has, does it not mean withal the quantity of sympathy he has, the quantity of faculty and victory he yet shall have? 'Our sorrow is the inverted image of our nobleness.' The depth of our despair measures what capability and height of claim we have to hope. Black smoke as of Tophet filling all your universe, it can yet by true heart-energy become flame and brilliancy of heaven. Courage!

"It is therefore in these years undated by history that we must place Oliver's clear recognition of Calvinistic Christianity: what he, with unspeakable joy, would name his conversion, his deliverance from the jaws of eternal death. Certainly a grand epoch for a man: properly the one epoch, the turning point which guides upward or guides downward, him and his activity for evermore. Wilt thou join with the dragons; wilt thou join with the gods? Of thee too the question is asked. Whether by a man in Geneva gown, by a man in 'four surplices at Allhallow-tide,' with words very imperfect; or by no man and no words, but only by the silences, by the eternities, by the life everlasting and the death everlasting. That the 'sense of difference between right and wrong' had filled all time and all space for man, and boded itself forth into a heaven and hell for him: this constitutes the grand feature of those Puritan, old Christian ages; this is the element which marks them as heroic, and has rendered their works great, manlike, fruitful to all generations. It is by far the memorablist achievement of our species; without that element, in some shape or other, nothing of heroic had ever been among us.

"For many centuries, Catholic Christianity, a fit imbodiment of that divine sense, had been current more or less, making the generations noble; and here in England, in the century called the seventeenth, we see the last aspect of it hitherto: not the last of all, it is to be hoped. Oliver was henceforth a Christian man; believed in God, not on Sundays only, but on all days, in all places, and in all cases."

The earliest of these letters is dated St. Ives, Jan. 11, 1635. It seems that the writer, together with other leading Puritans, was at that time earnestly engaged in what we would now call a home missionary enterprise, an effort to supply the people with evangelical preaching. The mode of operation was to buy up "advowsons" or "impropriations" as they came into market, and invest them in trustees or "feoffees" for the support of lecturers. These latter were not commonly in "priest's orders," but had licenses to preach or lecture: which they did with such good effect that Laud set himself to suppress the whole system; which he did effectually, by his accustomed means, starchamber-law, fines, damages, &c. That so great an outrage upon the rights of property and conscience created great dissatisfaction we may readily believe. It was indeed one of the first movements toward the civil war; for



Cromwell, Hampden, Pym, and "in conscious act, or in clear tendency, the far greater part of the serious thought and manhood of England, had declared itself Puritan." This first letter of Cromwell has reference to these matters. Unless the writer was born a hypocrite—a supposition involving an absurdity almost too great even for the understanding of modern mitre-worshippers—this letter, written before he could have dreamed of greatness, or felt the first movements of ambition, must give us a true picture of Cromwell, when thirty-six years old, married, the head of a family, a substantial farmer at St. Ives.

*"To my very loving friend Mr. Storie, at the Sign of the Dog, in the Royal Exchange, London, deliver these.*

*"St. Ives, 14th January, 1635.*

"MR. STORIE,—Among the catalogue of those good works which your fellow-citizens and our countrymen have done, this will not be reckoned for the least, that they have provided for the feeding of souls. Building of hospitals provides for men's bodies; to build material temples is judged a work of piety; but they that procure spiritual food, they that build up spiritual temples, they are the men truly charitable, truly pious. Such a work as this was your erecting the lecture in our country; in the which you placed Dr. Wells, a man of goodness and industry, and ability to do good every way: not short of any I know in England: and I am persuaded that, since his coming, the Lord hath by him wrought much good among us.

"It only now remains that He who first moved you to this, put you forward in the continuance thereof: it was the Lord; and therefore to him lift we up our hearts that he would perfect it. And surely, Mr. Storie, it were a piteous thing to see a lecture fall, in the hands of so many able and godly men, as I am persuaded the founders of this are, in these times when we see they are suppressed, with too much haste and violence, by the enemies of God's truth. Far be it that so much guilt should stick to your hands, who live in a city so renowned for the clear shining light of the gospel. You know, Mr. Storie, to withdraw the pay is to let fall the lecture; for who goeth to warfare at his own cost? I beseech you therefore in the bowels of Christ, put it forward, and let the good man have his pay. The souls of God's children will bless you for it; and so shall I, and ever rest

"Your loving friend in the Lord,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Upon this letter Mr. Carlyle remarks:—

"Reverend Mark Noble says, the above letter is very curious, and a convincing proof how far gone Oliver was, at that time, in religious enthusiasm. Yes, my reverend imbecile friend, he is clearly one of those singular Christian enthusiasts who believe that they have a soul to be saved, even as you do, my reverend imbecile friend, that you

have a stomach to be satisfied ; and who likewise, astonishing to say, actually take some trouble about that. Far gone indeed, my reverend imbecile friend !"

The letter and the criticism are both important. The first exhibits Oliver as the civil war found him ; the latter teaches us what we are to understand by "enthusiasm" when used by writers of a certain school.

Until the age of thirty-seven Cromwell lived in the manner above mentioned, and with such views and conduct as the letter we have quoted sufficiently explains ; but events had now transpired which must call forth to their work the mighty men whom God had secretly chosen and prepared to do it.

Laud had at length got his liturgy and bishops ready for the Scotch ; and on the 23d of July, 1637, brought the whole machinery into action in St. Giles's Kirk, Edinburg. But they encountered an obstacle never heard of in history before, and entirely unprovided for in the archbishop's scheme of defense. In short, the whole apparatus was shivered to pieces by Jenny Geddes' stool. "Let us read the collect of the day," said the pretended bishop from amid his tippets. "De'il colic the wame of thee !" answered Jenny, hurling her stool at his head ; "thou foul thief, wilt thou say mass at my lug ?" "A pape, a pape !" cried others : "stane him." In fact, the service could not go on at all. The first blow in the civil war was struck ; and Jenny Geddes, the keeper of a cabbage-stall, had the honor of throwing the first missile in the fray. "All Edinburg, all Scotland, and hehind that all England and Ireland, rose into unspeakable commotion on the flight of this stool of Jenny's ; and his grace of Canterbury, and King Charles himself, and many others, had lost their heads before there could be peace again."

In England, too, things soon came to a crisis. The king, determined to rule by prerogative and the grace of God, levied ship money. John Hampden, cousin to Oliver, with more of grace than a thousand kings, refused to pay his twenty shillings of it. Then came the trial, and the serried array of the people against the crown.

The Scotch raised a formidable army wherewith to protect themselves against "liturgies" and the "four surplices at Allhallow-tide." The king could raise no force to oppose them, and was compelled to call a parliament. Oliver Cromwell was a member, and for the first time took part in public affairs. This parliament, however, was dismissed after a session of three weeks ; and his majesty again essayed to rule without his people. An army was

indeed got together, but they would not fight the Scotch, whom all the better people in England considered friends. The Scotch invaded England, and again was parliament convoked. Cromwell was once more a member: and they sat long enough this time, longer than Oliver thought enough.

We need not recapitulate historical details familiar to our readers. The king ultimately levied forces against the parliament, and the latter in their turn assembled a force to protect the country. In the organization of the army under Essex, Cromwell was appointed captain of a troop of horse, and was soon noted for his activity. Immediately assuming the duties of a soldier, he seized the arms in the castle of Cambridge, and prevented the university plate, worth £20,000, from reaching the king, to whom it was sent. He was in truth the life and soul of the revolution in the district confided to his care; and seems to have formed very early those extensive views of the nature of the change to be wrought, which, however startling they were at first, eventually became general through an inevitable necessity. The parliament at first determined to carry on the war as for the king, against his counselors, to rescue him, poor man, from the wicked men who were misguiding him, and inducing their gracious sovereign to abuse his loving subjects; but Cromwell from his soul loathed all such mummery as this, which, while it deceived nobody, showed timidity and irresolution in the popular leaders, very dangerous to their cause. Cromwell knew, as every other thinking man in England knew, that Charles Stuart was no puppet, no King Log; but a proud, bad man, who despised all restraints upon his will, and was bent upon reducing the government of Great Britain to an absolute tyranny; and Oliver openly declared that if he should encounter the king in battle he would fire his pistol at him as soon as at any other man,—doubtless sooner than at any other man. Strange as it may seem, this saying was considered so bold and dangerous, even by men in arms against the crown, that the earl of Manchester made formal complaint of it to parliament.

The first actions in the war were rather favorable to the king, for causes which Cromwell readily perceived, and which he diligently and patiently set himself to remove. As this perception of Oliver was the key to the subsequent triumph, we will quote his account of it, from one of his speeches, together with Mr. Carlyle's interpolations.

"I was a person who from my first employment was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater, from my first being captain of a troop of horse, and did labor as well as I could to



discharge my trust, and God blessed me [therein] as it pleased him. And I did truly and plainly, and in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too, desire to make my instruments help me to that work. And, I will deal plainly with you, I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement I saw our men were beaten at every hand, I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him, in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you, God knows that I lie not. 'Your troops,' said I, 'are most of them old, decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honor, and courage, and resolution in them?' Truly I did represent to him in this manner, conscientiously and truly I did tell him, 'You must get men of a spirit, and take it not ill what I say. I know you will not. Of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go; or else you will be beaten still.' I told him so, I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. ['Very natural in Mr. Hampden, if I remember him well, your highness! With his close, thin lips, and very vigilant eyes; with his clear, official understanding, lively sensibilities to 'unspecked character,' 'safe courses,' &c., &c. A very brave man, but formidably thick quilted; and with pincer lips, and eyes very vigilant. Alas! there is no possibility for poor Columbus at any of the public offices till once he become an actuality, and say, 'Here is the America I was telling you of.'] Truly I told him I could *do* something in it. I did so. The result was—impute it to what you please—I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did. ['The Ironsides, yea!'] And from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten; and whenever they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually. [Yea.] And truly this is a matter of praise to God; and it hath some instruction in it to our men who are religious and godly."

If genius be "the faculty of doing something new," the power of solving difficulties never solved before, of threading labyrinths never penetrated by others,—then Cromwell was a man of genius. *He* was a bold man who undertook to do what John Hampden declared impracticable: he was sagacious far beyond the limits of ordinary wisdom who succeeded in thus doing. There can be no question that Cromwell's regiment turned the fortune of the war, and revolutionized the kingdom. He not only knew how to raise troops, he knew better than any other man how to use them. Every important battle during the war was won by the generalship

of Cromwell and the excellent qualities of these particular soldiers. Winceby, Marston Moor, Naseby, Preston, Dunbar, and Worcester, all attest the sagacity and soldiership of this wonderful man. Indeed, regarded as a mere soldier, Cromwell has had few equals, perhaps no superiors. His courage was indomitable. The most threatening appearances never for a moment disturbed his calm and resolute mind. In circumstances the most disastrous, even on the very verge of destruction, he was always prepared for victory; and never did his vigilant eye fail to perceive an opportunity to overwhelm a confident foe by an attack so unlooked for, and yet so vigorous and well sustained, as to defy all resistance. He never was defeated, whether his foes were English, Scotch, or Irish. Whether animated by pride and crazy loyalty, or warmed by religious fervor, or mad with savage fury; whether posted advantageously or disadvantageously; whether superior in numbers or discipline; it mattered not, they were "as stubble to the swords" of Oliver's soldiers. His "battle glance was magical." A false movement of the enemy was the sure presage of destruction; for the swords of the terrible Ironsides, flashing among ruptured columns and broken ranks, swept all before them.

Perhaps the most extraordinary fact in Cromwell's history is that he does not seem to have been at all elated by military success. It is impossible to discover in any of his accounts of battles, whether official or private, any evidence of vain glory. In every instance he seems perfectly aware of the importance of the victory itself; but he never attributes it in any degree to his own extraordinary conduct. It is indeed doubtful whether Cromwell ever perceived his own greatness. He evidently regarded himself as a chosen instrument of the Almighty; and the sublimity of this commission, while it humbled him toward God, made earthly honor valueless. Could Moses or Joshua value themselves upon military success? Could Gideon be proud of victory?

*"For the Honorable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament: these.*

*"Harborough, 14th June, 1645.*

"SIR,—Being commanded by you to this service, I think myself bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God toward you and us.

"We marched yesterday after the king, who went before us from Daventry to Harborough; and quartered about six miles from him. This day we marched toward him. He drew out to meet us; both armies engaged. We, after three hours' fight very doubtful, at last routed his army; killed and took above five thousand; very many officers, but of what quality we yet know not. We took also about two

hundred carriages, all he had; and all his guns, being twelve in number, whereof two were demi-cannon, two demi-culverins, and I think the rest sakers. We pursued the enemy from three miles short of Harborough to nine beyond, even to the sight of Leicester, whither the king fled.

"Sir, this is none other but the hand of God; and to him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with him. The general (Fairfax) served you with all faithfulness and honor: and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself. Which is an honest and a thriving way: and yet as much for bravery may be given to him in this action as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty: I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for. In this he rests, who is your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

The "honest men," who "served you faithfully," were doubtless the "Schismatics," or Independents, then so obnoxious to the dominant Presbyterian party. The hint about "liberty of conscience," and "the liberty he fights for," had meaning enough to the speaker.

And this is the account of the battle of Naseby, the great crowning victory of the war, by the man to whose conduct it was due. Cromwell commanded the horse on that memorable day. Rupert led the cavalry of the royal army. Each commanded the wing of his respective army distant from the other. Fiery Rupert charged through the infantry opposed to him, put it to flight, and scattered it in disorder; then, thinking the battle gained, his men dispersed for plunder. On the other wing Cromwell had also charged, had also broken the infantry before him, had also thrown the opposing army into wild disorder; but his men did *not* disperse for plunder. They rallied their disordered ranks, and quietly waited for Rupert, whom they also broke, scattered, destroyed, and chased thirteen miles. A rare achievement! Yet how modest, how Christian-like, the letter! Is there any *ambition* in it? Does Cromwell detract from Fairfax? Does he even tell how the fight was won? Where is the *cant*? Writes he not as a God-fearing man might write?

Time passed on, and strange events came rapidly to pass. The quarrel between the Presbyterians and Independents, represented by the city and the army, soon became quite as serious as the contest between the king and his people had been. Into



the details of this much-vexed controversy we cannot enter. Suffice it to say, that the discontents of the army were not fomented by Cromwell for selfish purposes, or any other purposes. They needed no fomenting at all. They were natural, necessary, inevitable. Never was such an army as Oliver's mustered before : and he will err sadly who shall proceed to account for the motives of their conduct by presuming them to be affected as soldiers commonly are affected. The army was not composed of well-trained mercenaries ; nor was it made up of thoughtless men, mere fighting men. The officers had other things in view than promotion or great rewards ; the soldiers lusted not for " blood, brandy, and free quarters ;" nor was there to bind them together, and to their leader, a blind attachment to a conquering general, under whom they had triumphed and pillaged, and by whom they hoped to triumph and pillage again. This army was made of sterner stuff. Thousands of the decent, thoughtful men of England had taken arms in defense of rights the dearest to the heart of man. Deliberately they had resolved to deliver their country from despotism ; and this solemn purpose they carried out with a perseverance, courage, moderation, and dignity never displayed by an army before : never equaled since except by an army of similar sort, which revived the contest in our own country with better success, though not with holier design nor with more heroic effort. It was not the purpose of the army to transfer the sceptre from the king to an irresponsible council, or the keeping of their consciences from the star chamber to courts of presbytery. It was no part of their magnificent design to " solder Christ's crown to Charles Stuart's." They intended to free England, and to do this at the peril and loss of every man and all parties of men who should stand between them and doomed abuses. Cromwell did not create this determination. God, and not he, had formed that unflinching, incorruptible host, and they would have trampled him into the dust had he dared to withstand them.

Let any man read the memorial from the army to the city of London, and say whether such memorial was ever sent from an army before, and whether the demands of the soldiers were not altogether just, altogether in keeping with the character we have given of the men who wrote it.

The result of this contest is well known. The army triumphed ; the parliament was purged by Col. Pride ; the king was tried for his treason, and in the face of all men condemned to merited death, and duly executed, upon " the open street before Whitehall." This was done by the *army*, and principally by *Cromwell*, the exponent

of the army's feelings. It was a bold deed, a just deed ; such as was never equaled on earth before. It marked an epoch in the progress of man. One of these days we shall have reached another. Kings and their craft are the heaviest curse begotten by sin and entailed on the earth ; but the earth will be rid of them some day ; and then they shall have their meed of fame who first led the people to the foot of a throne, not with prayers and humble adoration, but with stern remonstrance and good sharp swords. Mr. Carlyle's comments upon this extraordinary act are characteristic :—

“ ‘More savage than their own mastiffs!’ shrieks Saumaise ; shrieks all the world, in unmelodious soul-confusing diapason of distraction, happily at length grown very faint in our day. The truth is, no modern reader can conceive the then atrocity, ferocity, unspeakability of this fact. First, after long reading in the old dead pamphlets does one see the magnitude of it. To be equaled, nay to be preferred, think some, in point of honor, to ‘the crucifixion of Christ.’ Alas, in these irreverent times of ours, if all the kings of Europe were to be cut in pieces at one swoop, and flung in heaps in St. Margaret's church-yard on the same day, the emotion would, in strict arithmetical truth, be small in comparison ! We know it not, this atrocity of the English regicides : shall never know it. I reckon it perhaps the most daring action any body of men to be met with in history ever, with clear consciousness, deliberately set themselves to do. Dread phantoms, glaring supernal on you—when once they are quelled and their light snuffed out, none knows the terror of the phantom ! The phantom is a poor paper-lantern with a candle end in it, which any whipster dare now beard.”

“ This action of the English regicides did in effect strike a damp like death through the heart of flunkeyism universally in this world. Whereof flunkeyism, cant, cloth-worship, or whatever ugly name it have, has gone about incurably sick ever since ; and is now at length, in these generations, incurably dying. The like of which action will not be needed for a thousand years again.”

It is not at all necessary for us to discuss the propriety of this extraordinary act. A few words, however, may not be unimportant. Charles was not executed because he had been a king, and was conquered ; nor because as a king he had contended for the utmost stretch of prerogative ; nor because he had violated the sanctity of law, suppressed all law, and reigned by “ the grace of God,” or more properly by the instigation of the devil. James and Elizabeth were both tyrants, both might justly have been dethroned ; but neither had committed the unpardonable sin of Charles I. The latter had entered into a solemn treaty with the people ; he had, for value received in the shape of hard money, parted with what-

ever of odious prerogative he had claimed ; he had sworn to abstain from tyrannous acts ; he had solemnly ratified the Petition of Right ; and he had openly violated his oath, contemptuously trampled upon his obligation, and scoffed at the remembrance of his broken word. Here was what rendered Charles I. peculiarly a traitor, and here was what cost his life. His falsehood made it necessary to slay him. Men could not treat with him, because they could not trust him. Much stress has been laid upon his private virtues, by which seems to be meant his moderation compared with the abandoned profligacy of his son. But what have his domestic virtues to do with this question ? Suppose he were as continent as Joseph, as liberal as Cæsar, as grave and decent in his manners as a sexton. As one well expresses it : "If he break his word to his people, is it a sufficient defense that he keeps it to his companions ? If he oppress and extort all day, shall he be held blameless because he prays at night and morning ? If he be insatiable in plunder and revenge, shall we pass it by because in meat and drink he is temperate ? If he have lived like a tyrant, shall all be forgotten because he has died like a martyr ? He was a man who had so much semblance of virtue as might make his vices more dangerous. He was a ruler after the Italian fashion : grave, demure, of a solemn carriage and a sober diet ; as constant at prayers as a priest, as heedless of oaths as an atheist."

The new commonwealth had other battles to fight. The Presbyterian party, of whom the Scotch were the chief support, arrayed themselves in most formidable fashion for the restoration of the young king. Endeavoring to combine loyalty and rebellion, quixotic devotion to the king with open resistance to his authority and forcible control of his person and policy, Protestant piety with royal licentiousness, the solemn "covenant" with secret Popery,—this Presbyterian party undertook to solve the oddest paradoxes that ever contained the principles of political conduct.

"Given a divine law of the Bible on one hand and a Stuart king on the other. Alas ! did history ever present a more irreducible case of equations in this world ?"

The consequences might have been foreseen without the spirit of prophecy. To declare the king's conduct insupportably tyrannous, and his person inviolable ; to overthrow his government upon the ground of the sheer necessity of protecting themselves from shameful abuse, and yet to demand, as the greatest boon of Heaven, the perpetuation of his dynasty ; to clamor for the blood of his creatures, and to shrink with horror at the sight of his own ;



to exact pure morality by force of law, and to cut the throats of stern moralists like themselves in order to give dominion to a lecherous profligate, without conscience to restrain his appetite, or pity to mitigate his lust; to exact a pledge from conscious falsehood; and to suspend upon the extorted promise of a heartless, truthless man, the lives and liberty of his open enemies, who had slain his father, and hunted himself like a partridge in the mountains. These were some of the inconsistencies of the Presbyterians of that day. Absurdities not at all Presbyterian, neither engendered nor cherished by the religious notions of the sect; but the fruits of that idolatrous and senseless worship of kings merely as such, which, under the name of loyalty, had long been reckoned by the world, and more than all by the Scotch, a virtue hardly second to submission to God. In the righteous retributions of the Almighty, they at last got back their idol; and the dragoons of Claverhouse at once repaid their zeal and punished their inconsistency.

But they were not immediately successful. They were overthrown with a violence which might well have led them, by their own mode of interpreting events, to read the anger of the Almighty in the unexpected and unaccountable defeat that happened them. Indeed, the battle of Preston might have appeased their love of kings; but even the extraordinary overthrow at Dunbar could not quell it. It is not yet quelled; and even now we laugh, in spite of our commiseration, when we see the sedate Caledonians going mad with happiness because a young woman, facetiously called their sovereign, with a good-looking German gentleman, her husband, condescends to visit their country! Alas for poor human nature! the age of reason is a long way off yet.

The battle of Dunbar was certainly one of the most extraordinary actions ever fought.

Cromwell with eleven thousand men had retreated before the Scotch army of twenty thousand, and had finally been compelled to make a stand on the peninsula of Dunbar, scarcely a mile and a half broad. Behind, and on either hand, was the boisterous sea; before, the superior army of the Scotch, elated with assurance of victory. They had chased Oliver into a net whence there was no escape, and there they lay along the brow of "Doon Hill," waiting the fitting moment to destroy him. The paths through the hill were always difficult, and the dreadful weather made them almost impassable. Such as they were, the Scotch held them, and only waited until Cromwell in despair should essay to force them.

But Oliver never despaired. "In the dark perils of war," writes one who knew him, "in the high places of the field, hope

shone in him like a pillar of fire, when it had gone out in all the others."

*"To Sir Arthur Haselrig, Governor of New-Castle: these.*

*"Dunbar, 2d Sept., 1650.*

"DEAR SIR,—We are upon an engagement very difficult. The enemy hath blocked up our way at the pass at Copperspath, through which we cannot get without almost a miracle. He lieth so upon the hills that we know not how to come that way without great difficulty; and our lying here daily consumeth our men, who fall sick beyond imagination.

"I perceive your forces are not in a capacity for present release. Wherefore, whatever becomes of us, it will be well for you to get what forces you can together; and the south to help what they can.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The only wise God knows what is best. All shall work for good. Our spirits are comfortable, praised be the Lord; though our present condition be as it is. And indeed we have much hope in the Lord; of whose mercy we have had large experience.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

This letter is worthy of great attention; it is a confidential note, written under the greatest possible embarrassment, and in view of the utmost dangers. Hypocrisy here is out of the question. If ever man's true character was exhibited in words, we have true character here. And what character is it? We ask the reader to place himself, as far as it is possible for fancy to place him, in Oliver's circumstances, and then judge. To us this letter is as noble a specimen of the heroic style as can be found in this world's writing.

After dispatching this remarkable note, Cromwell returned to his lines, and walking with Lambert in the garden of Brocksmouth House, the extreme left of his army, he discerns that Lesley is gradually descending from the hills and moving his line further to the right, occupying the valley and the pass, outflanking Oliver as much as possible, and preparing to attack and overwhelm him whenever he should deem the proper moment to have come. This movement was full of intense interest. A common man, in Cromwell's place, would have read in it his knell of ruin; would have thought of capitulation; hard necessity; marching out with the honors of war, &c. The lord general's thoughts were somewhat different. He said to Lambert, "Does it not give us an advantage if we, instead of him, like to begin the attack? Here is the enemy's right wing coming out to the open space, free to be attacked on any side, and the main battle hampered in narrow, sloping ground

between Doon Hill and the brook, has no room to manœuvre or assist. Beat this right wing where it now stands ; take it in flank and front with an overpowering force ;—it is driven upon its own main battle, and the whole army is beaten.” Lambert eagerly assented. Monk coming up, is consulted, as other officers, and now everybody can see it. It must be done to-morrow morning before dawn.

The night was “wild and wet.” The Scots, lying in the open air under the stormy sky, let their matches go out ; and, cowering down among the shocks of corn, sought what covering they might from the pitiless sleet. Oliver’s army stood to their arms, and made fervent prayer to God. “Major Hodgson riding along, heard, he says, a cornet praying with his men, and turned aside to worship and pray with them.” And now the moon gleamed forth ; the appointed hour had come. The shock was terrible, irresistible. The advanced troops of the Scotch made fierce resistance while they might, but, overwhelmed by charges of horse and foot, and torn by discharges of artillery, they were forced back upon their own men ; confusion, utter rout ensued ; three thousand were killed upon the spot ; ten thousand threw down their arms and surrendered ; guns, ammunition, everything which constitutes an army, were taken ; and, “over St. Abb’s Head and the German Ocean just then burst the first gleam of the level sun upon us, and I heard Nol say, ‘Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered !’”

“The lord general made a halt, and we sang the hundred and seventeenth Psalm.” And well might the lord general and his men give thanks. They had, as by a miracle, been extricated from an apparently inextricable situation. Chased by double their numbers till they could retreat no more, they had suddenly turned upon their pursuers, routed them, broken them to pieces, killed and taken more than half of them, and all this with the loss of thirty men ! Has history a parallel to this action ? Did Napoleon ever display more military genius than was here displayed by Oliver ? Surely he never won a battle with so little loss,—surely no battle was ever won against greater odds, or more entirely under God, through the genius of a single man.

This was the greatest triumph of Cromwell’s triumphant career. Let us see how it affected him. Fortunately we have the best means of learning.

“*For my loving Brother, Richard Mayor, Esq., at Hursley : these.*

“*Dunbar, 4th Sept., 1659.*

“*DEAR BROTHER,—Having so good an occasion as the imparting so great a mercy as the Lord vouchsafed us in Scotland, I*



would not omit the imparting thereof to you, though I be full of business.

"Upon Wednesday we fought the Scottish armies. They were in number, according to all computation, above twenty thousand; we hardly eleven thousand, having great sickness upon our army. After much appealing to God, the fight lasted above an hour: we killed, as most think, three thousand; took thirty guns, great and small, besides bullets, match and powder, very considerable officers; about two hundred colors, above ten thousand men: lost not thirty men. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes. Good sir, give God all the glory. Stir up all yours, and all about you, to do so. Pray for

"Your affectionate brother,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

"For my beloved Wife, Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit: these.

"(Same date.)

"MY DEAREST,—I have not leisure to write much, but I could chide thee that in many of thy letters thou writest to me that I should not be unmindful of thee and thy little ones. Truly, if I love you not too well, I think I err not on the other hand much. Thou art dearer to me than any creature; let that suffice.

"The Lord hath showed us an exceeding mercy—who can tell how great it is! My weak faith has been upheld. I have been in my inward man marvelously supported; though I assure thee I grow an old man and feel infirmities of age marvelously stealing upon me. Would my corruptions did as fast decrease! Pray on my behalf in the latter respect. The particulars of our late success Henry Vane or Gilbert Pickering will impart to thee. My love to all dear friends. I rest there.

OLIVER CROMWELL."

These two domestic letters are invaluable; and, we venture to say, incomparable. They establish beyond all dispute the sincerity of Cromwell's piety; they acquit of vain glory, nay, they show a mind too well schooled in Christianity to be affected, except to faith and thankfulness, by the most extraordinary elating causes. A letter to his wife, written the day after the battle of Dunbar by the hero of the fight, in the midst of the confusion of victory, and scarcely a word in it about the great event! Not an item of intelligence how it was won by his own great skill and undaunted courage! Not a single note of triumph in the whole strain! He remembers, at this moment of wild felicitation, almost adoration, when a sceptre is just before him,—he remembers "his corruptions" and "infirmities" stealing upon him! "For particulars of our late success," consult Henry Vane!—Never was such a letter written before! We almost believe, never was such a man before!

By this time our readers have made up their opinion of Oliver Cromwell; we doubt not for many of them, that their opinion is very different from any they had before. His letters have at last vindicated him, and he stands forth an honest man; strong in understanding, quick to perceive, mighty to execute—a soldier who feared God, a statesman who revered the truth; a conqueror without ambition, a king without a sceptre; yet the wisest and the strongest who ever ruled the nation. Knowing the man as we do now, we are prepared to understand his further history as we have not before understood it. He must be presumptuous, indeed, who can pronounce such a man entirely wrong in anything he may have done, unless he shall have mastered all the facts as Oliver perceived them, and invested himself with all the circumstances as they existed at each particular time, when the great man seems to have been inconsistent with himself. Many things for which Cromwell has been blamed most unsparingly, are very defensible even as we see the reasons of action, and his fortune will differ from that of other conspicuous men, if he be not often censured for the best deeds of his life, and praised for the least commendable.

For nothing has the Protector been more virulently assailed than for his severity to the Irish. It is true he undertook to cure anarchy and rebellion there upon another plan than “rose-water surgery.” But if he differed from modern wisdom in his mode of operation, it is certain that he succeeded in his object; he pacified Ireland—and kept it pacified, and happier than it has been since, or is likely to be again, under the “rose-water” system. It may be that, after all, less blood was shed in that unhappy land under the Cromwell rule, sieges and storms included, than has been, without sieges and storms, in *peaceful* times, by assassinations and the like. It is to be seen whether storms of “Drogheda,” or grants to Maynooth, are the more merciful means of “pacification.” Oliver writes, “Truly, I believe this bitterness (severity) will save much effusion of blood through the goodness of God.” Doubtless it did: how much may be shed or spared through the fruition of “rose-water” means, Maynooth, emancipation, &c., will be written in another history.

The forcible dissolution of the parliament, and the military control of the country, were certainly strange and strong measures, only to be justified by stern necessity. But the necessity was stern. Remember, that these were parts of the revolution. From the death of Charles to the protectorship there was no settled government in England. The parliament was a self-constituted power—as much so as Oliver's. The army was unquestionably the real

representative of the people of England. All government being disorganized, the armed people, who had unsettled everything by abolishing the previous government, were compelled, by the very necessity for which they took up arms, to put down all obstacles to an ultimate and judicious "settlement." As they could not procure this through the residuum, or *caput mortuum*, of the parliament, they had to do it through Oliver, and it was well done. Under his rule England prospered and triumphed; no man was oppressed at home, nor insulted abroad:—unfortunately there was but one Oliver, and he could not live always.

Such being the life of Cromwell, a natural interest attaches to his death. Was the "hypocrite," the "usurper," the "butcher," at last unmasked by the rude hand of the grim tyrant? Were his last moments spent in vain confessions of wickedness? Was he shaken by impotent horror of the grave? Did the ghosts of men wantonly slaughtered haunt his frenzied fancy? Was he deserted of God?

We are prepared to answer these questions in the words of Cromwell himself. We write for those who are familiar with the language of the dying; who know how to discern the strivings of a Christian soul through the lights and shadows of the fearful struggle, men well acquainted with the "shibboleth" which opens the passes of Jordan; and they will scrutinize the last words of Oliver. It might be presumptuous for us to anticipate their judgment by thoughts of our own: but nevertheless we have thoughts of our own; thoughts that have forced themselves upon us by many a "happy" death-bed; unwelcome thoughts! Alas! how "resigned" is self-righteousness! What solemn exhortations, and forcible admonitions, and sweet encouragements to good, fall from the lips of many, who, in their haste to preach, have forgotten to repent! What delightful anticipations of rest swell the hearts of those who have never labored! What ecstatic forethoughts of reunions to friends ravish the souls of those who never were united to Christ!

Nothing is more deceitful than a death-bed; yet nothing is more honest to men who are capable of discerning truth from falsehood. For such we write, and to such we commend the last chapter of the book we are considering. We cannot quote all the "last words" of the dying Oliver, but we would have them all read.

"Here are ejaculations, caught up at intervals, undated in these final days. 'Lord, thou knowest if I do desire to live, it is to show forth thy praise and declare thy works.' Once he was heard saying, 'It is a







fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.' But again: 'All the promises of God are in him; yes, and in him, Amen! to the glory of God by us,—by *us* in Jesus Christ.' 'The Lord hath filled me with as much assurance of his pardon and his love as my soul can hold.' 'I think I am the poorest wretch that lives: but I love God; or rather, am beloved of God.' 'I am a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me.'"

"He was heard to pray much, and his prayer ran thus:—'Lord! though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace; and I may, I will come to thee, for thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Lord! however thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them. Teach them who look too much on thy instruments to depend more upon thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people, too; and pardon the folly of this short prayer: even for Jesus Christ's sake.'"

Among his last audible expressions were such as these:—"God is good; he will not leave me." "I would live to be serviceable to God and his people, but my work is done."

Yea, his work was done! done fearlessly, done well!—And in the manhood of his strength he rested from his labors. His cares were greater than man might bear and live; but his works do follow him.

"Ah, I think that Oliver's works have done, and are still doing! We have had our revolutions of eighty-eight, officially called glorious; and other revolutions not yet called glorious: and somewhat has been gained by poor mankind. Men's ears are not now slit off by rash officiality; officiality will, for long henceforth, be more cautious about men's ears. The tyrannous star-chambers, branding-irons, chimerical kings and surplices at Allhallow-tide, they are gone, or with immense velocity going. Oliver's works do follow him!"



ART. VI.—*An Examination of President Edwards' Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will.* By ALBERT TAYLOR BLEDSOE. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 16 South-seventh street. 1845.

THE Inquiry of President Edwards into the Freedom of the Will has long been regarded, and with great justice, as a master-piece of human reasoning. It has been considered by its admirers as approaching the nearest to "demonstration" of anything out of the mathematics; and, unless we may except the writings of Chillingworth, certainly nothing in the whole range of theology can be accounted, in this respect, superior to it. Attempts had often been made to refute it, but all without success. The well-provided argument of Edwards, anticipating almost every objection which had hitherto been raised against it, like well-tempered armor, had resisted every attack, and turned the weapons of its adversaries broken or blunted to the ground. The Inquiry has always come out from the furnace of severe argumentation apparently purified, but not consumed. Still, the common sense of mankind has almost uniformly been found on the other side. Men have been puzzled and mystified by the acuteness of the reasoning, but have not been convinced. Reasons have been drawn *dehors*, (as the lawyers would term it,) to show that the consequences of the doctrine would be of the most absurd and ruinous nature; that they would involve the world in the iron bonds of fatalism, that the freedom of the will would be but a name. Still, the advocates of the doctrine, though denying that any such consequences would follow, have turned to the undisturbed argument of their champion, and replied, "Show us the defect there." "Point us to the step in the whole process of the reasoning which does not wait on the one preceding, and lead to the one beyond. Show us the fault in his premises, the *non sequitur* in his conclusions, then will we admit the argument of Edwards to be unsound; but not before." Mr. Bledsoe has taken up this challenge, and has shown himself fully adequate to the task assumed.

We deem the work of Mr. Bledsoe to be a full, direct, and incontrovertible refutation of the celebrated Inquiry of President Edwards. It is certainly a little remarkable that in the long and ingenious controversy which has been carried on upon this subject, it has always been taken for granted that the will *is determined*. The very language in which Edwards sets forth the question which comprehends the subject of his Inquiry, shows that it was not at

all within the scope of his design to discover *whether* the will is determined; but (taking it for granted that it is) to learn "*what* determines the will?" We would not wish to be otherwise than serious on so important a subject, but it brings to our mind a well-told anecdote related by Archbishop Whateley in his "*Historic Doubts*," as nearly as our memory serves us, to the following effect. "The question was propounded, as an objection to the system of Copernicus, when it was first introduced, 'Why it was, that when a stone was thrown into the air, it did not, on account of the revolution of the earth on its axis, fall to the westward of the person throwing it; just as a ball, dropped from the top of a mast, instead of falling at its foot, falls as far toward the stern of the vessel as the vessel has proceeded on its way?' The sage philosophers, not at a loss for a moment for a theory to explain the phenomenon, immediately took sides; some contending that it was because the centrifugal force of the earth differed from the motion of the vessel; others, that it was because the stone was a part of the earth, but no part of the vessel: each in turn attacking and repelling until, from being a war of words, it was like to become a war in deeds." At last it occurred to some one of the belligerents, to inquire whether the difference which had been made the groundwork and substratum of their discussion really existed. The experiment was tried, and strange to relate, the stone which was dropped from the top, instead of falling far astern, (as the terms of their discussion required,) fell quietly at the foot of the mast, and thus put an end to the fine-wrought theories which had thus playfully been started into existence.

The discussions on the freedom of the will might have been brought much sooner to a satisfactory determination, had the contending parties first inquired into the existence of the fact which was to be made the basis of their subsequent theories. But such was not their course. Both Edwards and his opponents, the libertarians and the necessitarians, have started from the same point—the admission that the will is determined—and their great difference has been in regard to the cause by which it is effected; the one contending that the will is determined by the strongest motive, and the other, that the will determines itself. It is singular, that when such unanswerable objections were raised to each of their theories respectively, that it did not occur to their advocates that there was an error at the very start. While on the one hand the unassailable *reasoning* of Edwards led to a system of necessity, of fatalism, (and that too by the same path that had been pursued by Hobbes and Collins,) a system which is repugnant to our feel-

ings, our ideas of religion, and the idea of moral responsibility ; still, the self-determining power of the will had been reduced to an absolute absurdity by the author of the Inquiry, from which the believers in moral liberty had never been able to relieve it. Mr. Bledsoe is the only writer who has placed the doctrine of the freedom of the will upon its proper foundations. West may have had glimpses of the true doctrine, but if he had, he never boldly and strenuously followed it out. Others may have in terms denied the premises of Edwards, but they never placed their denial upon intelligible and tangible grounds. It is easy to deal in sweeping assertions, but it is sometimes difficult to commend them by logical deduction to the minds of those who are seeking for truth. And nowhere has this fact been more clearly manifested, than in the discussions which have taken place on the freedom of the will.

What then was the doctrine of Edwards? And what are the objections of Mr. Bledsoe to it? The great and leading idea in the work of the former is, that volition is an *effect*—that it is *caused* by the producing influence of something else—that it is an effect, precisely in the same way that the changes of matter are effects. True it is, that some of his disciples have denied that he has treated volition as an effect, in this sense; but nevertheless, we do not hesitate to affirm that in all parts of his reasoning *essential to his scheme*, he has used the term "*cause*," for that which brings something to pass by its producing influence, and the term "*effect*," for that which is thus brought to pass. We are aware that Edwards himself says:—

"Before I enter on any argument on this subject, I would explain how I would be understood, when I use the word *cause* in this discourse; since, for want of a better word, I shall have occasion to use it in a sense which is more extensive than that in which it is sometimes used. The word is often used in so restrained a sense as to signify only that which has a *positive efficiency* or influence to *produce* a thing, or bring it to pass. But there are many things which have no such positive productive influence, which are yet causes in this respect, that they have truly the nature of a reason why some things are, rather than others; or why they are thus, rather than otherwise. Thus the absence of the sun in the night is not the cause of the fall of the dew at that time, in the same manner as its beams are the cause of the ascent of vapors in the daytime; and its withdrawment in the winter is not in the same manner the cause of the freezing of the waters, as its approach in the spring is the cause of their thawing. But yet the withdrawment or absence of the sun is an antecedent, with which these effects in the night and winter are connected, and on which they depend; and is one thing that belongs to the ground and reason why they come to pass at that time, rather than at other times; though the ab-



sence of the sun is nothing positive, nor has any positive influence. . . . Therefore, I sometimes use the word 'cause,' in this Inquiry, to signify any *antecedent*, either natural or moral, positive or negative, on which an event, either a thing, or the manner and circumstance of a thing, so depends, that it is the ground and reason, either in whole, or in part, why it is, rather than not; or why it is as it is, rather than otherwise: or, in other words, any antecedent with which a consequent event is so connected, that it truly belongs to the reason why the proposition which affirms that event is true; whether it has any positive influence or not. And agreeably to this, I sometimes use the word 'effect' for the consequence of another thing, which is perhaps rather an occasion than a cause, most properly speaking."—Pp. 50, 51.

He here seems to anticipate that this would be the point of attack, and has, therefore, under the cover of a most *general* definition, endeavored to conceal the real sense in which the term "cause" is used in the Inquiry. Mr. Bledsoe has collected a number of passages from the different portions of the Inquiry, and has shown from them that Edwards has almost uniformly used the word "cause" in the restricted sense. And it may be confidently asserted that there is no portion of the reasoning which is essential to his peculiar theory, in which he does not use, and to the force of which reasoning it is not necessary that he should use, the word "cause," as the *producing influence* of, and not the mere *occasion, ground, or reason for, volition*; and that if you take from the word this restricted sense, you take from the reasoning its very pith and marrow. No man who shall read the Examination of President Edwards' Inquiry, with his mind directed to this point, can fail to perceive that the *causality* of cause is "wrought into the very substance and structure of his whole argument." Take, for instance, the principal doctrine, that the strongest motive determines the will. Search the *reasoning* by which it is sustained, and say if its whole force does not rest in the idea that the influence of the motive *causes* the will to be *thus*, and not otherwise. What force is there in what is said about the strength of motives, if there is not something in that strength which acts with influence on the will? What is meant by the expression that "the *voluntary action*, which is the immediate consequence of the mind's choice, is DETERMINED by that which appears most agreeable," unless this voluntary action, which is determined by what is most agreeable, is the effect *produced, brought to pass*, by a competent cause? Take the application which Edwards makes of the maxim, that "every effect must have a cause;" what pertinency is there in it in the connection in which he introduces it, unless *volition* is an effect which must have a cause? Every one knows the sense in which the term

"cause" is used in this maxim. It does not mean *occasion, ground, reason*, but it means that which calls the effect into being. It does not mean merely an antecedent, it is a *producing influence* which is meant. Now Edwards either used the maxim in the same sense, or he was guilty of an unpardonable trick ; or else he was ignorant of its proper application : of neither of which last alternatives have we ever for one moment suspected him. Every one who has ever read the "Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will," knows that he has made much use of the maxim referred to, *for the very purpose* of showing that *volitions* must have had a cause, and have, therefore, been effects *in the same sense*. And, when treating volitions as effects which must have a cause, and in reply to an objection respecting a difference in the nature of the free acts of the will from other things, he says,—“It is not the particular *kind* of effects that makes the absurdity of supposing it has being without a cause, but something which is common to all things that ever begin to be, viz., that they are not self-existent or necessary in the nature of things.”

This quotation, we think, sets forth clearly the views of Edwards on the nature of volitions as effects, and the sense in which all his reasoning required that they should be understood. The phenomena of nature are divided into two kinds ; those which are self-existent or necessary in the nature of things, and those which are not. The former require no cause ; the latter do. Volitions are not self-existent or necessary in the nature of things ; they therefore require a cause to bring them into existence. He makes no distinction here between volitions as effects, and any other events as effects.

Again : take his notion and reasoning respecting liberty. What is the end of his chapter on that subject ? Why, to show that notwithstanding our volitions may be necessitated, notwithstanding they may be *effects* brought about by the prevailing influence of their causes, still liberty consists in *doing* what we *will* ; to show that though the will itself may be bound by an adamant chain, still if we are not constrained to act against it, or restrained from acting in accordance with it, we are in a state of perfect liberty. The manner in which Mr. Bledsoe has exposed the sophistry of this argument, and taken from the system of Edwards the only prop that supported an apparent consistency between a necessitated will and moral liberty, by showing that liberty as thus understood is nothing more than *physical* liberty, is worthy of special notice. He has most clearly shown that Edwards skillfully (we will not say designedly) made use of a popular and almost political meaning of

the term liberty, and transferred that meaning into his reasoning on the freedom of the will. We might go on through all the important chapters of Edwards, and show that the idea that volitions are effects in the most strict sense of the word, is interwoven into the substance of his argument, and is inseparable from it without its absolute destruction.

Mr. Bledsoe meets this fundamental argument in the very outset. He denies that volitions are effects; that is, that they are effects *in the sense* in which they are necessary to the argument of President Edwards. He does not deny that in a certain sense they may be effects, but he expressly states the sense which his denial reaches. No man can for one moment fail to understand Mr. Bledsoe as meaning, that as the whole argument of Edwards was based on the doctrine that volitions are *effects brought into existence, produced, caused*, by something else, so it was *in this sense* (and in no other) that he was concerned to deny it. And as the doctrine of Edwards on this point runs through all the collateral subjects touched upon in the Inquiry, so does the counter doctrine of Mr. Bledsoe run into the same, giving them an entirely different aspect. But we prefer to quote from his book:—

“All that I deny is, that a volition does proceed from the mind, or from motive, or from anything else, in the same manner that an effect, properly so called, proceeds from its efficient cause. This is a point on which I desire to be distinctly understood. I put forth a volition to move my hand. The motion of the hand follows. Now I here observe the action of the mind, and also the motion of the hand. The effect exists in the body, in that which is by nature passive; the cause in that which is active, in the mind. The effect produced in the body, in the hand, is the passive result of the prior direct action of the mind. It is in this restricted sense that I use the term in question, when I deny that a volition is an effect. I do not deny that it depends for its production upon certain circumstances, as the conditions of action, and upon the powers of the mind, by which it is capable of acting in view of such circumstances. All that I deny is, that volition results from the prior action of the mind, or of circumstances, or of anything else, in the same manner that the motion of body results from the prior action of mind. Or, in other words, I contend that action is the invariable antecedent of bodily motion, but not of volition; that whatever may be its relations to other things, a volition does not sustain the same relation to anything in the universe, that an effect sustains to its efficient cause, that a passive result sustains to the direct prior action by which it is produced. I hope I may be *always* so understood, when I affirm that a volition is not an effect.”—Pp. 47, 48.

Again:—

“We always conceive of the subject in which such an effect resides, as being wholly passive. President Edwards himself has repeatedly



said, that it is the very notion of an effect that it results from the action or influence of its cause ; and that nothing is any further an effect, than as it proceeds from that action or influence. The subject in which it is produced is always passive as to its production ; and just in so far as it is itself active, it is not the subject of an effect, but the author of an action. Such is the idea of an effect in the true and proper sense of the word. Now does our idea of a volition correspond with this idea of an effect ? Is it produced in the mind, and is the mind passive as to its production ? Is it, like the motion of a body, the passive result of the action of something else ? No. It is not the result of action ; it is action itself. The mind is not passive as to its production ; it is in and of itself an action of the mind. It is not *determined* ; it is a *determination*. It is not a produced effect, like the motion of body ; it is itself an original producing cause. It does seem to me, that if any man will only reflect on this subject, he must see that there is a clear and manifest difference between an ACT and an EFFECT."—Pp. 51, 52.

Again :—

"Now if a volition is an effect, if it has an efficient cause, what is that cause ? By the action of what is it produced ? It cannot be by the act of the mind, says Edwards, because the mind can produce an *effect* only by another act. Thus, on the supposition in question, we cannot ascribe a volition to the mind as its cause, without being compelled to admit that it results from a preceding act of the mind. But that preceding act, on the same supposition, will require still another preceding act to account for its production ; and so on *ad infinitum*. Such is the absurdity which Edwards delighted to urge against the self-determining power of the mind. It is triumphantly based on the concession that a volition is an effect ; that as such the prior *action* of something else is necessary to account for its existence. And if we suppose, in accordance with the truth, that a volition is merely a state of the mind, which does not sustain the same relation to the mind that an effect does to its efficient cause, this absurdity will vanish. The doctrine of liberty will no longer be encumbered with it."—P. 56.

Again :—

"It is easy to see how he constructs his system. Every change in nature must have a cause, says he : this is very true ; there is no truth in the world more certain, according to the sense in which he frequently understands it. If he means to assert that nothing, whether it be an entity, or an attribute, or a mode, can bring itself into existence, no one disputes his doctrine. It is most true, that there can be no choice without a mind that chooses, or an object in view of which it chooses ; a mind, an object, and a desire, (if you please,) are the indispensable prerequisites, the invariable antecedents, to volition ; but there is an immense chasm between this position and the doctrine that the mind cannot put forth a volition, unless it is made to do so by the action of something else upon it. This immense chasm the necessitarian can cross only by stepping over from one branch of his ambiguous proposition to another ; he either does this, or he does not reach the point in controversy at all."—P. 74.

These passages are sufficient to set forth the doctrine both of the Inquiry and of the Examination on this, the all-important point in the controversy. For a full exposition of his views, we can only refer the reader to the work of Mr. Bledsoe itself. Our limits will not permit us to extract all that he has said, and *less* than all will not do full justice to the author.

The section on "The Maxim that every Effect must have a Cause," and also that which follows it, "On the Application of that Maxim," will repay any one for an attentive and studious perusal. The two closing paragraphs of the latter rise into majestic and eloquent indignation at the supposition, that the doctrines maintained in regard to the activity of the soul, should be thought to deprive us of the *a posteriori* argument for the existence of a God; and urge home upon the advocates of the opposite system a tendency to the dark and unfathomable gulf of atheism.

The chapter on "The Relation between the Feelings and the Will" is one of great importance and originality. Mr. Bledsoe is the only writer, so far as we are informed, who has maintained that the desires and appetites do not determine volition. He considers the mind as composed of two faculties, the sensibility and the will. That the former is acted *on*, and that the latter *acts*. And that although the former may furnish *grounds, occasions, or inducements*, on which the latter may act, still it is not *creative* of that action.

A writer in the October number of the Princeton Review, in a notice of Mr. Bledsoe's book, says:—"But having said thus much in favor of the book, we are now constrained to say that we differ, *toto cælo*, from the positions which he assumes, and on which his whole system is founded. The first of these is, that human volitions can, in no proper sense, be called 'effects.' The other main position is, that our feelings, that is, our desires, passions, &c., have no causal influence on volition. As to this point, the ingenious author seems to think that he has placed the defense of liberty on entirely new ground. He labors to prove that none of the defenders of liberty have availed themselves of this principle. And no wonder; for there is scarcely a truth more evident to the consciousness of all men, than that their volitions are powerfully influenced by their feelings. If a man is in danger of perishing by hunger or thirst, have these appetites no influence to lead him to will to seize the food or drink within his reach? A system built upon such a false foundation cannot stand."

Now we observe, with great deference, however, that from the language used in this popular appeal to consciousness, we should judge the writer did not fully understand, or else had not maturely

considered, the portion of Mr. Bledsoe's work to which he refers. "If a man is in danger of perishing by hunger or thirst, have these appetites no influence *to lead him to WILL* to seize the food or drink within his reach?" Most certainly they have. Mr. Bledsoe does nowhere countenance any other doctrine. But the question is not what may "lead *him* to will;" what inducements, or occasions, or desires, may be in the view of the mind: but whether the *act* of the will *is* the act of the will, or whether it is the *effect* of appetites or inducements which would then, instead of leading the man to exercise his will, lead the will itself. Edwards himself seems to recognize the same distinction in his chapter on "Choosing of Things indifferent," p. 67, in which he says:—"The mind in its determination and choice, in these cases, is not most immediately and directly conversant about the *objects presented*, but the *acts to be done* concerning these objects. . . . In each step of the mind's progress, the determination is not about the objects, *unless indirectly and improperly*, but about the actions, which it chooses for other reasons than any preference of the objects, and for reasons not taken at all from the objects." So we believe it is in all cases, with this difference, that in the cases of strong desire, appetite, &c., the attention is more strongly attracted to the object as an inducement to the mind to act; but that in *volition* itself the mind is only conversant about the willing or the not willing. If we desire to touch one of the squares on a chess-board, it is a matter of indifference, as to the squares themselves, which one we fix upon. But, says Edwards, the mind is not conversant about the *objects presented*, but about the *acts to be done*. "The man chooses to *take or touch* one rather than another; but not because it chooses the thing *taken or touched*, but from foreign considerations." Now let us look into this a little. The objects themselves are indifferent, and of course furnish no motive for choosing one rather than the other. But then, says the Inquiry, "the acts to be done are not indifferent, (because the man chooses to take or touch one rather than another . . . from foreign considerations.)" Now we would ask, why are they not indifferent? If I am indifferent as to two objects as matters of choice, why am I not equally indifferent as to the act of choosing between the two? Edwards says, "because of foreign considerations." Now foreign considerations may account for the exertion of the mind in willing, but they cannot account for an act of choosing where there is no choice. That I wish to put my hand on one square of the chess-board, will be a sufficient ground for me to exercise my will; and the fact that I cannot do so without touching at random, or fixing upon one in particular, will be a sufficient ground



or reason for touching at random or fixing on some one particular square; *on the supposition that motives are not the producing causes, but only the grounds or occasions, of volition.* But if we consider motives as the causes of *volition*, then we say that the fact that I cannot touch one of the squares, without touching at random or fixing on some one in particular, cannot be a cause of my touching this square rather than another. Now it may be asked, where is the difference between us? We answer, here. Edwards supposes *motive* to be the producing *cause* of volition; that "in every act of the will there is an act of *choice*;" that "in every volition there is a preference; so that in every act or going forth of the will, there is some preponderation of the mind one way rather than another." The volition then to touch that square on which the eye may fix at random, or otherwise fix, rather than to touch some other, is, according to Edwards, an act of *choice* or *preference*; which choice or preference must be founded either in the nature of the *objects*, or in the nature of the *acts of choosing*. But the objects themselves are indifferent. And the acts of choosing, as such, are indifferent. And the mere fact, that if one of two indifferent acts is not done, some evil would follow, though it may be a great inducement for acting in *some* way, is not a ground for acting in this way rather than in the other; or, in other words, is not a ground for any *preference* between the two acts. If there is no preference, then (according to Edwards) there can be no volition. This would bring the matter to this absurdity; that the mind exercises choice where there is no choice—and exercises volition, and does not exercise volition, at one and the same time.

But suppose motives not to be the causes, but only the occasions, of volition, and how easily is this matter explained. A man is urged to do one of two indifferent acts. This is a motive or inducement for an exertion of his will. He does this act and not the other, not because there arises from it any strength of motive causing it to prevail over the other, but because he has the power of acting *without* any such predominant motive, because the action of the mind in willing is an independent action. And here we can see the force of the important and just distinction which Mr. Bledsoe has made—and observed throughout his work—between action in its relation to the mind, and motion in its relation to matter. The action of the mind is almost always illustrated by the motion of matter; and yet, though it is in some respects analogous, in other respects there is no analogy at all. Motion is always passive. It is always a result. It possesses no self-acting principle. But on the other hand action is *not* passive. It is *not* a result in its strict

sense. And it is self-acting. And this difference is in the very respect which is the ground of controversy. We think, therefore, that all arguments and illustrations drawn from the analogy between action and motion should be abandoned where the discussion is upon that point where the analogy fails.

The chapter in Mr. Bledsoe's book on the connection of the foreknowledge of God with necessity, has been termed by the writer in the Princeton Review, to whom we have already alluded, as a "curiosity." If by this epithet it is meant that the chapter referred to contains new and important views on the subject of necessity, we agree with the writer. But if anything disrespectful, either to Mr. Bledsoe or his views, is intended, we differ from the reviewer entirely.

Let us then look into the argument of Edwards and the reply of Mr. Bledsoe. The former proves, by the most irresistible reasoning, that the foreknowledge of any future event proves the necessity of that event. In other words, an event cannot be foreknown unless it be actually and necessarily *certain* that the event will take place. Because if the event were not certain, the foreknowledge of it would not be certain, and to that extent would not, in a proper sense, be *foreknowledge*. Against this reasoning nothing can be urged successfully. Up to this point Mr. Bledsoe and President Edwards agree. But the latter proceeds further. After stating the different ways in which things may be necessary, as either necessary in themselves, or necessary by consequence, &c., he infers that unless an event is *caused* by something which is not contingent, the event itself would be contingent; if contingent, then it might or might not happen, and that foreknowledge predicated on it would be uncertain and contingent. To this Mr. Bledsoe has answered, that foreknowledge implies the necessity of the *event*; but implies nothing as to its *cause*. He considers the foreknowledge of a future event, as in the same condition as present knowledge of a present event; that as present knowledge of a present event can exist without any reference to the cause of that event, so divine foreknowledge of a future event may exist without any reference to its cause.

This idea is worthy of being followed into greater detail. Edwards takes it for granted that foreknowledge cannot subsist without *evidence* or *proof*: that there can be no evidence of a future event which is contingent, and consequently no foreknowledge of that event. But as foreknowledge is supposed, and that foreknowledge must be grounded on evidence, and the cause which produces an event is the only proper evidence of such future event, therefore

the cause must itself be certain. Now, the fundamental error here is in supposing that the *divine* foreknowledge is founded in evidence or proof. It is in taking for granted that the prescience of the Deity is arrived at in the same way, and by the same means, as what we may, perhaps, call the foreknowledge of man: that it is a conclusion derived from reasoning. If, for instance, I know that in the year 1854 there will be an eclipse of the sun, I know it, not because the fact is now present to my view, but because it is the necessary consequence of an unbroken process of mathematical reasoning. To *my* knowledge of this future event, the reasoning of Edwards is perfectly applicable. But to God all things, past, present, or to come, are distinctly in view. To him the knowledge of the eclipse is not the result of a process of reasoning. The event itself is before him. To be sure, the causes and connections are also present to his omniscient sight, but not as the *ground* of foreknowledge of the event with which they are connected; but simply because the Almighty sees all things "*in presenti*." It is idle to say that *He* cannot foreknow without evidence, if by evidence is meant anything else than a full view of the event itself, without any reference whatever to its cause. God sees the thing itself in futurity, just as we see that which is before us. It is not faith, but sight. It is not inference, but experience.

But we think that the reasoning of President Edwards on this subject is obnoxious to one of two very serious objections. It either reduces volitions to the quality of divine decrees, or else it is liable to Edwards' favorite objection of an infinite number of causes. His argument is, that no contingent event (that is, no event which has not a cause) can be foreknown, because its contingency implies a possibility that it might not happen; which is against the supposition that it is foreknown. If then the event is necessary, the *cause* is necessary; for, as Edwards says, that which necessarily connected with something else which is necessary, must itself be necessary. The *cause* then is necessary. But if the cause is necessary, *that* cannot be contingent, but must itself be caused by something else which is also necessary. And so on for an infinite series of causes, unless we arrive at the first cause emanating from the bosom of the Deity. Now, without going further, and inquiring whether Edwards' theory of infinite causes could be still further applied to the volitions of the Almighty, (which we think would be the case,) we have the objection to offer, that the doctrine would comprehend the most rigid system of fatalism. A volition of the Deity is the producing cause of an event, which is itself the cause of something else, and so on; every successive step in which succession



of events is fixed, certain, *necessary*, until we reach the *produced* volitions of man. The last link in the chain is dependent on that which preceded it; and without it could never have had existence, or at least *necessary*, and therefore certain, existence: that event in its turn is dependent on another going before, until you come to the great *first* cause, in the mind of God, upon which this whole chain depends—and without which, and without its being just such as it is, no one of the successive effects would have been the same! Would the event be more certain, would the volition have been less free, if the same voice that said, “Let there be light, and light was,” had called forth that volition *without* the intermediate steps which we have supposed? *Could* fatalism bind more rigidly the will, the actions, the destiny, of man?

But the writer from whom we have quoted proceeds still further, and says: “He (Mr. Bledsoe) acknowledges the absolute certainty of all events, as foreknown, and admits that there is some kind of necessity that they should come to pass. And Edwards’ argument requires nothing more. The unfortunate use of the word ‘necessity,’ by Edwards and his followers, has done more to prejudice the minds of sensible men against his system, than all other causes. According to the proper usage of language, liberty and necessity are diametrically opposite; and to say a thing is necessary, and at the same time free, is a contradiction in terms. Certainty and necessity are not the same; for, although everything necessary is certain, everything certain is not necessary. Volitions, in certain given circumstances, may be as certain as any physical effects; but volitions are free, in their very nature. A necessary volition is an absurdity, a thing inconceivable.” Now, in this passage the writer concedes everything that the views of Mr. Bledsoe demand, though we think that they do not properly represent the views of President Edwards. It is true that the former “acknowledges the absolute *certainty* of all events, as foreknown;” but it is not true, we humbly conceive, that “Edwards’ argument requires nothing more.” The latter certainly goes much further, and *infers* FROM the certainty of foreknown events, that they *must be* NECESSARY, in the strictest sense of the word. For (as we have before seen) he contends that “it is impossible for a thing to be certainly foreknown to any intellect, without *evidence*;”—that “no understanding can *see evidence* where there is none;”—that “if there be any future event, whose existence is contingent, without all necessity, the future existence of the event is absolutely *without evidence*.” Now, in what sense is the phrase, “without all necessity,” here used? Not to signify the *certainty* of the happening of the event;

for that would make nonsense. That would be to make President Edwards mean that an event which was *not certain*, could not be foreknown *to be* certain, WITHOUT EVIDENCE. Such was not the meaning of Edwards. He meant this—and the reasoning would be perfectly sound so far as *human* foreknowledge, if we may so speak, is concerned—that admitting the *event* to be *certain*, it could not be *foreknown to be* certain, without evidence. And if the event did not depend on something else as a cause, and this *cause* did not appear to the prescient, then there was no *evidence* to him upon which to found *foreknowledge* of the event, notwithstanding it might be certain.

We might extend this article to a much greater length, but that it would be tedious to those who have not read the "Examination of President Edwards' Inquiry," and useless to those who have. We would, however, take the opportunity of making a remark or two on the use which Mr. Edwards makes of the terms, "ground," "reason of," "occasion," &c. For instance: "Nothing can begin to be, which before was not, without a cause or some antecedent ground or reason why it then begins to be." "Nothing is, or comes to pass, without a sufficient reason why it is," &c. The terms here used are perfectly familiar to us, and we have a perfectly distinct idea of the proposition into which they are introduced. And yet there is fallacy in the use that is made of them in President Edwards' Inquiry, and more especially in the writings of his disciples. If the terms, "ground," "reason," "occasion," &c., are used with reference to *matter*, they are either most absurdly misapplied, or else must be intended to convey the *identical idea* contained in the strictest sense of the term "cause." For to say that force is the *reason* of motion in that which has no reasoning faculty, or the *occasion* of motion in that which cannot perceive any fitness of opportunity, would be foolishness. And yet such are the only significations in which those terms can be used with meaning, *unless* we mean by them that force is the "producing *cause*" of motion. Will it be said that the withdrawal of the sun as the *occasion*, rather than the *cause*, of darkness and of cold, would better illustrate the meaning—that by occasion is meant a "*negative*," rather than a "*positive* cause?" To this we answer, that we know no such thing in the world as a "negative cause." It is a contradiction in terms. It is a solecism in ideas. The very essence of causality is *positiveness*. But the very instances adduced do not in the least support the form of expression. Darkness and cold are not *effects* in the connection, at least, in which they are here used. They are *states* or *conditions* of being. The sun, which is a posi-

tive cause, produces light and heat. When the cause of light and heat is withdrawn the effects cease; the prior state, or condition, which had been overcome and changed by an active cause, is restored. But we have said that the terms, "reason," "occasion," &c., are misapplied, when used with reference to *matter*, if they do not contain the strict signification of the term "cause." We now remark that these terms are equally misapplied, when used in relation to *intelligent beings*, if they *do* include that signification. There is something in the very terms themselves, and in their applicability only to beings endowed with the power of perception, as well as the ability for action, which would at once seem to denote a difference between a produced effect and an induced act; something which would imply, that the same language that would be proper to designate the connection between material agency and its effects, would not be proper to designate the connection between an *act* and an *inducement* to *do* it, where there is an intermediate agent, viz., the mind; which may perceive the inducement, and then act or not act. For to say that the "reason," "ground," or "occasion," for any particular volition, is strictly the *cause* of that volition, is the same as to say that the reason or ground *why*, or the occasion *when*, a thing should be done, is that which actually *does* that particular thing. But we are conscious that such is not the case. For it is the *mind* which wills, and not the ground or reason presented to it. It is the *man* who acts, and not the occasion which is offered for acting.

The very idea of a "ground" or "reason" in view of the mind, supposes the mind to take cognizance of it, to weigh it *as* a ground or reason, to decide upon it, to *act* upon it. It supposes an agent—an umpire. In short, it supposes *that very thing to exist*, the absence of which would render it necessary to employ the terms, when applied to *matter*, either with an absurd meaning, or else with the meaning of *causality*.

The style in which Mr. Bledsoe's book is written must commend itself to all. It is certainly clear, forcible, and without redundancy. The author from beginning to end evidently had his *subject*, and not its dress and ornaments, in his mind. The consequence is, that his language is made to convey, without any mistiness, his thoughts; and his illustrations, always good, are themselves arguments. Some may, perhaps, think that Mr. Bledsoe's work might have been more condensed without any injury to its effect. It is difficult, however, to fix on any standard, in this respect, for a treatise on a metaphysical topic addressed to men of different mental strength, education, and means of obtaining what may have been previously writ-







ten on the subject. The vigorous and well-trained hunter on the Alps will leap from cliff to cliff without impediment, while the more feeble and less-used stranger may be obliged to clamber up and down the chasms over which the other had passed with a bound. So, too, the well-schooled metaphysician will need but a mere statement of principles, while others less experienced will require the aid of the successive steps in the reasoning.

Mr. Bledsoe may well be proud of the part which he has taken in a discussion which has engaged, for such a length of time, so many and so distinguished writers in this and other countries. Were he never to contribute anything more to the literature of his country, he must still be regarded as having done much in advancing its reputation. To expect that his doctrines will command the assent of all—that his reasoning will break through old and familiar prejudices—or that his work will bring to a close a controversy which has been so long and so ably conducted—would be too Utopian an anticipation for any sober man to entertain. But we think it is not going too far to say, that he has placed the discussion on grounds from which it will not be easy for any successor to shift it.

The work of Edwards was at one time studied in many of our seminaries as a text book in intellectual philosophy, but has of late become disused. We cannot say that we approve of the change. As a means of disciplining the minds of students, and habituating them to modes of rigorous reasoning, we do not know of any work that can well be substituted for it. But we would have the Examination of Mr. Bledsoe to accompany it into our schools and colleges. We do not fear the moral risk of such a measure; for we believe that the Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will never had the effect of gaining proselytes to its doctrines, though it has always drawn forth homage to the superiority of its dialectics. But if it never before made much headway against the feelings and consciousness of men through the avenue of hard reasoning alone, it will not be likely to become very fatal, since there has been such an antidote furnished as the book we have been reviewing.

We can never, however, recur to the Works of Jonathan Edwards without expressing our admiration of his exalted powers, which in some respects have never been surpassed. We can never forget that he was one of the first of American writers who *wrung* from our transatlantic brethren some deference to American talent and learning. We can never forget that from out of the wild forests of the new world he sent forth, as an earnest of future contributions to theological literature, a work which all the ingenuity of foreign



criticism, pointed by a feeling of contemptuousness for the land from which it sprung, never could furnish an entirely satisfactory reply. And although the time may come when, as a guide in the doctrines of divinity, Edwards may have long ceased to be revered as he has been, we should regret ever to expect the time to arrive when his Works will cease to be regarded as a model of forensic argumentation, or to be studied by those who are in the training of education, and whose acumen might well be sharpened, and intellects strengthened, by a frequent recurrence to the pages of one of the grèatest of metaphysicians.

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ART. VII.—*A Treatise on the Forces which produce the Organization of Plants. With an Appendix, containing several Memoirs on Capillary Attraction, Electricity, and the Chemical Action of Light.* By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the University of New-York. Harper & Brothers. 1844.

THIS Treatise is an honor to the scientific character of our country. It is not a republication of transatlantic thought in American language; but whether some of its views may have been entertained before or not, it bears the impress of originality. Though its author has read much, he has evidently studied and experimented more, and his work has that unity in sentiment and continuity of parts so characteristic of the production of a single mind. Many of our scientific works are indeed original, but they remind us of the habitations of the semi-barbarous beings who dwell amid the ruins of some ancient city. Though these habitations are partially made up of ancient edifices, perhaps once the pride of the world, yet they exhibit an architecture perfectly unique. Ionic, Corinthian, and Gothic, are all blended together, and, perhaps, surmounted by a modern thatched roof. This Treatise is not a compilation. The mechanical beauty of the volume is but a suitable dress for the well-sustained views and interesting experiments of its learned and laborious author. It treats, too, upon a subject of interest not merely to the scientific man, but to the theologian and all who love to think. Science and religion are twin sisters, and never should be separated. The one is truth evolved from God's works by observation and reason, the other is truth evolved from revelation by the same powers; and all truth is of one nature. If the apparently legitimate

conclusions of science and theology are contradictory, the fault is in ourselves, who, from an improper use of the medium through which the observations are made, obtain a distorted image of the truth.

The great object of the first chapter of the Treatise is to show that organization and life are not originated and sustained by the indescribable "vital principle" of the old physiologists, but are the legitimate result of the same forces that regulate the movements of all inanimate nature. This subject in various phases has been discussed, sometimes angrily, from the earliest ages of the world. Many theologians, jealous of what might to the unreflecting appear a leaning toward atheism, have laid themselves open to severe attacks, on account of a careless, and, perhaps, contemptuous disregard of material laws, and a hasty ascription of observed phenomena to the direct agency of God without the intervention of law.

The one grand truth, that all nature is the emanation of a supreme Being, who upholds it and directs it in all its wondrous evolution of cause and effect, science never has controverted and never can; nay, it has not the slightest tendency thus to do: but, on the other hand, all its investigations and deductions rest upon this truth as a foundation—pointing undeviatingly to the power of God. But when the theologian leaves this ground and attempts to show how God works, and that, too, by one short sentence, by "speaking and it is done," irrespective of the laws with which he has previously invested nature, he lays himself open to attacks which he does not deserve and cannot withstand. We maintain that atheism never has appeared on the offensive with the slightest plausibility when the theologian confined himself to his own ground, for there, like Bunyan's pilgrim, he is invincible; it is only in the by-ways that he is exposed to discomfiture and defeat.

*Ex nihilo nihil fit*—From nothing, nothing comes—exclaims the skeptic, with all the dogmatism of one who professes to have stretched the tether of human reason, and is gazing proudly at the concentrated result of all his toils. But he is too hasty. This maxim, or axiom if you please, which he binds on his forehead and reveres as his creed, is capable of being turned against himself. It is a formidable weapon, and he alone is not to use it. It is not unlimited in its application, and where it does apply it is one of the strongest expressions that language can afford to show the existence of God. The origin of the existence of matter is wholly beyond the reach of human reason, and no maxim of man can apply to it; and were there no other evidence of the agency of God than the mere existence of matter—no subsidiary proof drawn from de-

sign or revelation—the theist and atheist would stand on precisely the same ground, neither could confute nor confirm the other.

Let the world be divested of all its beauty, disrobed of everything which shows the power and goodness of God, let it become

“Seasonless, herbless, treeless, manless, lifeless—  
A lump of death—a chaos of hard clay—  
The rivers, lakes, and ocean, all stand still,  
And nothing stir within their silent depths;”

and on this desolate, dead globe, let one disembodied spirit roam, uninstructed, undirected—disembodied, for a body would, with its wonderful mechanism, speak to him of God—and though he might exclaim, “From nothing, nothing comes,” therefore, this mass of dead matter must have existed for ever, even then it would have no force, for it would still be beyond the province of human reason to decide whether matter is uncreated or not. But while he gazes, wrapped in darkness and meditation, let a wondrous revolution commence, even the “revolution of the heavenly orbs”—let light and life dawn upon the earth, and the shades of a past eternity roll grandly away—let the slumbering ocean begin to heave, and the silent streams to murmur, and the grass, and the flowers, and the trees to spring up, and the animate creation to revel, and the solitary spirit himself be enrobed in a body “fearfully and wondrously made”—and his first impulse would be, with arms extended to heaven, to exclaim, “From nothing, nothing comes: therefore, in all around me I recognize the works of a great Supreme, whose power, wisdom, and goodness I adore.”

Thus it would be, thus it is now. We have not seen the commencement of organized beings, but mere collocation of atoms never could have produced them; and every plant, from the humblest individual of that dense microscopic forest which forms a speck of mildew, to the oak which has breasted the storms of centuries; every animal, from the prince of the populous empire in a single drop of water to the elephant, all speak to us of a great Creator, resting their conclusion, too, on the much-abused truth,—“From nothing, nothing comes.”

But what sustains and regulates the ever-fading and ever-returning vesture of vegetation? Is it the result of light, heat, and electricity, or must we call in another agent to our aid,—the vital principle? It must appear evident that the reply to this question, whether affirmative or negative, cannot in the slightest degree intimate that nature is independent of God; inasmuch as all natural laws should be considered but expressions of the Almighty's will,



and manifestations of his purposes. Holy Writ teaches us that God is unchangeable, "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever;" and this one truth is the substratum of natural science. On this one truth the whole universe, natural and spiritual, depends. Were God changeable, nature would be changeable; there would be no reasoning from analogy, the events of to-morrow could not be predicated from to-day; memory would be useless, conjecture impossible. But since God is unchangeable, order reigns supreme; and the conception of Plato becomes sublimely beautiful, so forcibly like truth is it, that the universe is a musical instrument—all its parts adjusted to each other in the most perfect harmony. There is not a discord in nature, save where, like a slight one in a splendid musical composition, it contributes to the beauty of the whole, and such discord is the most perfect harmony.

When the universe sprang into existence at the fiat of God, it was put into action—every atom received its command, its eternal task—and the work was gladly commenced. This work has continued till now, and will *for ever* continue. Every change has resulted, every future change will result, from the nature then given it, for God sees the end from the beginning.

These evolutions so varied, yet uniform, men call the laws of nature; they are rather the manifest purposes of God.

We can conceive of but two classes of individuals who have failed to recognize the hand of Deity in his works. They may be properly styled the idiotic and the insane. The idiotic are a striking exemplification of the propriety of the oft-quoted couplet of Pope, in its true sense,—

"A little learning is a dangerous thing,  
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring."

Creatures of a day, they have looked upon the works of the Almighty and seen their beauty; but they do not, like the pagan, adore even that. Adoration, the noblest of emotions, seems to have perished from want of exercise. The divinity all around us they cannot, or rather will not, see. Such are the semi-educated skeptics of every corrupt neighborhood. They have but a smattering of science, if any; and a few unmeaning phrases and apparent enigmas, which have been retailed in their class from generation to generation with unremitted assiduity, though their absurdity has been demonstrated again and again, are their only stock of theological knowledge.

The other class of skeptics, of which there have been but very

few, are the insane. Much knowledge unsanctified will sometimes destroy the reason.

"An undevout astronomer is mad."

Such a one was, perhaps, La Place. He studied nature faithfully and well. He probed its mysteries; but when the first impression of the Almighty was forced upon his mind, as it must have been, he failed to recognize and acknowledge it. He failed to adore it. From neglect, his adoration gradually expired, and he found himself deifying nature, admiring the laws without worshiping the Lawgiver, unraveling new mysteries which he himself in all their parts acknowledged incomprehensible, yet sublimely beautiful, without perceiving that there must be a wise and good Being to control the whole. Like the monomaniac, who passed his time among the ever-burning furnaces of Sheffield, and imagined that fire, which effected so much, must be a demon, and worshiped it, —not reflecting that it was all in the power of man and directed by an external intelligence—he almost worshiped nature instead of nature's God. Fearful is the responsibility of the student; unless he exercise the heart as well as the intellect, destruction will be his reward. But scientific investigations have no dangerous peculiarity in this respect. Any one object, pursued solely and unremittingly without constant attendance to religious obligations, has a tendency to unhinge the mind and produce a species of monomania.

It being then premised that the "laws of nature" are but the manifestations of the will of an unchangeable Being, and that all true philosophy recognizes the constant superintendence of this Being, whether manifested immediately or through a series of causes, we are prepared to examine the views of our author upon the cause of organization and life. They are introduced as follows:—

"In this work the existence of the vital force of physiologists—as a homogeneous and separate force—is uniformly denied. The progress of science shows plainly that living structures, far from being the product of one such homogeneous power, are rather the resultants of the action of a multitude of natural forces. Gravity, cohesion, elasticity, the agency of the imponderables, and all other powers which operate both on masses and atoms, are called into action, and hence it is that the very evolution of a living form depends on the condition that all these various agents conspire. There is no mystery in animated beings which time will not at last reveal. It is astonishing, that, in our days, the ancient system, which excludes all connection with natural philosophy and chemistry, and depends on the aid of a visionary force, should continue to exist; a system which, at the outset, ought to

have been broken down by the most common considerations, such as those connected with the mechanical principles involved in the bony skeleton, the optical principles in the construction of the eye, or the hydraulic action of the valves of the heart."—*Introduction*, paragraph 3.

The great error of philosophers has ever been an unwillingness to acknowledge their ignorance. Human knowledge is but a small, partially explored, and cultivated tract in infinite space, constantly enlarging, as was the "*totus orbis terrarum*" of the ancients, as daring adventurers sail into unknown seas. But the difficulty is, these adventurers are not contented to relate what they see and learn, but draw upon their own resources to complete the picture; and never did ancient traveler deviate more widely from the truth than some of these scientific voyagers. If the cause of phenomena was unknown, a *term* must be invented for that cause, and henceforth it must be considered as known. And what is still more, a high wall must be built, preventing all revisiting of that once explored region, and wo to the man who dares to doubt established opinion—the authority of ages trembles over him and threatens to bury him in its crumbling ruins. Hence the *horror vacui*, the *quinta essentia* of Aristotle, the vortices of Des Cartes, the oscillating ether and animal tubes of the materialist Hartley, and may we not add, the vital force of physiologists?

If the term is to be used as an open acknowledgment of ignorance, it is convenient and well: but let it be understood that it is a mere phantom, and let it not for an instant brandish a weapon or assume a substance to prevent the free advancement of such as would explore still further the great question of the origin of life.

The true system is the Baconian—to experiment and observe—and this is the system of our author. He begins by examining carefully all those circumstances which affect the organization of living beings.

"Organized beings and organized bodies spring forth in those positions only to which the rays of the sun have access. They are, therefore, limited to the atmosphere, the sea, and the surface of the earth. Periodical vicissitudes, which are observed both in vegetables and in animals, serve to show that this is not a mere fortuitous coincidence, but rather an intimate connection between the phenomena of life and the presence of the imponderables. When the sun is set, the leaves of plants no longer decompose the carbonic acid of the air, but a pause takes place in the activity of their functions, and they sink into a passive condition. The gaseous bodies brought from the ground by the action of the spongioles, percolate through the delicate tissues of the leaf, and escape away into the atmosphere. At night, also, in



many flowers the petals fold themselves together, and, for a time, all active processes cease. It is, therefore, through an instinctive impulse, that comes over them during this period, that all animals, except such as take their prey by night, seek places of rest. Darkness, and silence, and repose, are all connected together."—*Introduction*, paragraph 5.

The subject is pursued still further by a general yet philosophical examination of the effect of different climates upon the various tribes of plants and animals upon its surface. It becomes those who do not acknowledge that life is the result of the imponderable agents, light, heat, and electricity, to show why it does not appear except where these forces are exerted. Why is the organic character of the world graduated in undeviating conformity with the latitude and other influences which affect the climate? Can the "*vital force*" exist only where these agencies are found? Why is life confined to the limited range in temperature of one hundred and eighty degrees? But we must let the author speak for himself.

"In this manner we might proceed to show how the existence of individuals and races is completely determined by external conditions. How, for the same reason that an individual dies, so, too, does a tribe become extinct. Pursuing these considerations, we might show how closely the development of the intellect itself is connected with them: we might compare the effect of climates in the torrid, the temperate, and the frigid zones, and show how history bears out the truth of these views. We might appeal to individual experience for the enervating effects of hot climates, or to the common understanding of men, as to the great control which atmospheric changes exercise not only on our intellectual powers, but even on our bodily well-being. It is within a narrow range of climate that great men have been born. In the earth's southern hemisphere, as yet, not one has appeared; and in the northern they come only within certain parallels of latitude. I am not speaking of that class of men who, in all ages and in every country, have risen to an ephemeral elevation, and have sunk again into their native insignificance so soon as the causes which have forced them from obscurity cease, but of that other class, of whom God has made but one in a century, and gives him a power of enchantment over his fellows, so that by a word, or even by a look, he can 'electrify, and guide, and govern mankind.'"—*Introduction*, paragraph 26.

Well is it said that the sunbeam is the chain of the lion. He never ventures beyond the parched clime of his appropriate place. So with man and all organized beings. Matter has its laws, or rather its character, which never changes. The spirit may seem to control it, but in its own sphere it is supreme; and so long as the soul is connected with its present gross material body, it is under

a tyranny which cannot be escaped, the laws which regulate the movements of worlds.

The conclusion of our author in the last paragraph of the Introduction appears philosophical and sound. We bespeak its careful examination.

“What, then, are the final impressions left upon our minds by these general considerations? They teach us that life never occurs except in regions to which the imponderable agents can have access,—an observation which is equally true of vegetable and animal forms; that elementary organization, directly or indirectly, arises from the plastic energy of those all-pervading forces. Whether we consider the organic or inorganic world, all things around us are in incessant changes—changes which result from the fixed operation of invariable laws; that of the successive tribes of beings which have peopled our earth, each series may be regarded as expressing the general relation of all physical agents at the time of its existence, the brilliancy of the sun, the pressure of the air, and other such conditions; for we see that, between those conditions and the organization of the structures considered, there are fixed relations; that in the more highly complicated forms of beings mutations more readily take place, and in all time enters as an element; that, in the same way that whole races have disappeared from the face of the earth, and have become extinct, so, also, do individuals die and atoms change; that, whatever motion is accomplished, or whatever change is brought about, there is a consumption of material or expenditure of force; that, as the surface of the earth is continually remodeled by physical agents, so are the vicissitudes through which organized forms pass determined by physical powers, and bring about physical ends. The passage of a comet, never more to return, in a hyperbolic orbit past the sun, is a result of the same general law that keeps a planet revolving in repeated circles—the extinctions of races which have heretofore taken place, or which are going on before us, are not brought about by a direct intervention of supernumerary forces, but are the constant result of those which are always in action. If, moreover, our thoughts are directed to the relations which exist between climates and the character of races, the distribution of vegetables and animals, if we observe the antagonization of these great classes in the result of their vital processes, their position as respects the atmosphere, the control which astronomical events possess over everything, the action which currents in the air or currents in the sea exercise over the distribution of animated forms, and even over the well-being of man, we surely shall have but little difficulty in understanding that, as in the organic world, so, also, in the world of organization, these all-pervading forces, which natural philosophers and chemists recognize, are constantly employed.”—*Introduction*.

After having thus ably and philosophically stated and defined his theory, the author proceeds to relate and explain some simple and definite experiments which have led him to its adoption. He be-

gins on the very confines of life, where the organic and inorganic kingdoms are separated by an almost imperceptible line. The origin, the chemical nature, and the circumstances necessary for the production of the simplest organic substance, viz., that green flocculent matter which will invariably form in an open vessel of spring-water when exposed to sunlight, are rigidly investigated. This simplest of all vegetables, it is evident, derives its substance from the gases, carbonic acid, oxygen and nitrogen, with which water is usually saturated, and the power which effects the transfer of matter from the inorganic state to the organic, from the mineral to the vegetable, is light.

There, however, arises a question, which, though it has reference to infinitesimals in magnitude, is of great importance. It is a question upon which the materialist and the immaterialist would probably differ; and yet, granting the materialist his own view, the non-existence of spirit would not absolutely follow. The question is, are these minute vegetables produced *immediately* from inorganic matter, or must we suppose the existence of germs, products of previous organization in the water, to be brought into action by the vivifying influence of the sun? In other words, is the creation of new vegetables and animals continually going on around us, or have we good reason to conclude that there is not one more species now on earth than there were when, at the termination of the sixth day, "God saw everything that he *had made*, and behold, it was very good?" That species have become extinct is an historical fact—are others, by the action of material agents, brought into being to take their places? If so, was any special or miraculous exertion of Almighty power necessary to originate man? It has been quite a custom among philosophers of a certain class to endow "plastic nature" with wonderful powers. If we may believe them, the creation of animalculæ by this power is of daily occurrence, and the progression from inferior to superior species, constant. Therefore, so far from crediting the account that man was created six thousand years ago as man, it is much more flattering to suppose that he is the perfection of some species of vermin that a hot sun brought into existence on the muddy margin of some pond, fifteen or twenty millions of centuries ago. But waiving this insuperable difficulty in the theory of progressive development, that no transmutation of species can be shown to have taken place, and that all the accumulated effects of centuries upon organized beings often disappear in one or two generations, when unnatural influences are removed,\*

\* See Lyell's Principles of Geology. First ed., pp. 500-526.



thus showing the independence of species and their tendency to conform with the original character—the absolute origination of living beings from inorganic matter can never be proved to have taken place. The ovum must have existed. All experiments conducted with accuracy show it.\* Were we endowed with sufficient keenness of vision, we should see myriads of myriads of germs of microscopic plants, and ova of animalculæ, floating in every part of the atmosphere. The atmosphere is burdened with them. On every object they settle, with every breath they are inhaled; they are in the sap of plants, the blood of animals; they live, thrive, and die in the tartar of the teeth. Wherever they find a soil or habitation fitted for their support, there are they found in rapid growth; but whenever suitable precautions have been taken to prevent their introduction, living objects have never been found.

Admitting, then, the existence of the germ, the process of formation and growth of the little vegetable is discernible and easily traced. All the solid part comes from the gaseous matter in the water, primarily flowing from the atmosphere.

The author has attempted to show, and we think, if not successfully, at least with great plausibility, that the circulation of sap in plants, and of blood in animals, is the result of a simple law of capillary attraction, thus expressed:—

“If two liquids communicate with one another in a capillary tube, or in a porous or parenchymatous structure, and have for that tube or structure different chemical affinities, movement will ensue; that liquid which has the most energetic affinity will move with the greatest velocity, and may even drive the other fluid entirely before it; that this is due to common capillary attraction, which, in its turn, is due to electric excitement.”—*Paragraph 88.*

The heart, then, will no longer be considered a pump, exerting a mechanical power almost incredible and perfectly unaccountable, but merely subsidiary to the circulation, in producing which every fibre of both the veins and arteries participates.

The greater part of this Treatise is an examination of the nature and effects of light. This, for want of room, we must pass over. Suffice it to say, however, that the author concludes yellow light to be the great agent in producing chemical phenomena. His concluding remarks show so strikingly the wonders of nature constantly taking place around us unobserved, that we cannot forbear to quote.

\* See experiments of Prof. Owen, in *Edinburgh New Phil. Journal*, quoted in *Watson's Practice of Physic*, p. 738.

"An exogeneous forest tree, from its magnitude, rising, perhaps, a hundred feet above the ground, and spreading its branches over hundreds of square yards, may impress us with a sense of sublimity; a section of its stem might assure us that it had lived for a thousand years, and its total weight could only be expressed by tons. An object like this may, indeed, call forth our admiration; but that admiration is expanded into astonishment when we come to consider minutely the circumstances that have been involved in producing the result. If we conceive a single second of time—the beat of a pendulum—divided off into a million of equal parts, and each one of these inconceivably brief periods divided again into a million of other equal parts, a wave of yellow light during one of these last small intervals has vibrated five hundred and thirty-five times. Who, then, can conceive, when in the billionth of a second such enormous numbers of movements are accomplished, how many have been spent in erecting an aged forest oak! Who, also, can conceive the total amount of force employed from century to century in arranging the vegetation of the surface of the globe!

"The solar system is an orb of movement and light, full of vibrations of every tint visible and invisible, and which here and there envelops and enshrouds revolving points of organization and life."—*Paragraph 403.*

Blind, indeed, must be the moral sense of that man who can examine these wonderful phenomena of nature, and not trace the workmanship of an infinitely wise and benevolent Being. The field is but yet partially explored, and every new phenomenon that is observed, every new law that is detected, adds to the evidence of design and benevolence already demonstrative. It is for this reason that we look upon such works as this Treatise, not only as creditable to the scientific character of our country, but as having a strong tendency to bring about an era when all shall recognize the constant superintendence of God, and strive to do his will.

H.

## ART. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*. By JOHN KITTO, Editor of the "Pictorial Bible," &c., assisted by various able Scholars and Divines. Copiously illustrated with Maps and Engravings. 2 vols. 8vo. New-York: Mark H. Newman. 1845.

WE are truly delighted to see a good American edition of this valuable and standard work. Not long since we imported a copy from England at a heavy expense, but even that we were not able long to retain. A literary friend laid his eye and hand upon it, insisting that it was more convenient for us than for him to import another. But happily we are now relieved of the task, by finding upon our table a copy as well printed and better bound than that we had before procured.

This work was not compiled in the method hitherto usual with works of similar character, namely, on the basis of Calmet and the old learning of his day, with a few shreds of modern discovery interwoven. All the more important articles were written expressly for their present use, not by one individual, but by an arrangement between not less than forty different scholars of Europe and America, all of whom stand high in their several departments.

It will be understood that this is not a *theological* work in name or in fact. Confining itself to Biblical literature, it claims to explore thoroughly the great fields of BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY and BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION. The following is the analysis given by the editor to the above topics. The object of Biblical archæology is to treat of,—

"1. The nature of the country in which those books have originated: to this branch of inquiry belong *physical geography* and *natural history*. By the latter we understand not only (a common mistake) a systematic survey of the natural productions, but also and chiefly an enumeration of the peculiar features of their origin, growth, continuance, cultivation, use, &c. It is, for instance, quite immaterial what place the date-palms or balsam-shrubs occupy in the system—such investigations being of no importance for the understanding of the Bible, the writers of which have disregarded those points; while, on the other hand, the peculiarities of the locality where the palm-tree stands, its external appearance at the different seasons of the year, its growth, fertility, use, &c.,—in short, all that particularly strikes the sense of the beholder, have frequently exercised considerable influence on the inspired writers; and these sources of external impressions on the senses and mind of man are to be particularly considered and noticed by Biblical archæology.

"2. The inhabitants of those countries; their peculiar character, manners, customs, way of living, and their intercourse with other nations.



"3. The vicissitudes of their people,—consequently, the history of the Hebrews and Jews, down to that time when the last books of the Scriptures were written.

"4. The politico-religious institutions, the civil and geographical order and division of the land and the people; and

"5. The mental development of the Hebrews and Jews, the regulations founded on it, and the degree of progress which the arts and sciences had attained among them.

"Biblical archæology may be further divided into two classes—that of the Old Testament and that of the New Testament: the former may again be subdivided into the *Hebrew* and the *Jewish* archæology.

"As soon as the foundation for Biblical researches is laid by the help of Biblical archæology, the theologian then turns to the solution of the second main question in theology:—What is meant by the Scriptures? How and when have they arisen? In what form do they lie before us? The answer to all these questions is the object of BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION, or, more correctly, of the *History of Holy Writ*. It is divided into Introduction to the Old Testament and Introduction to the New Testament. It must render an account—

"1. Of the origin of the individual books received into the sacred canon; not omitting to notice at the same time the various views that have been entertained on that point by critics of all ages, as well as those particular opinions which are seemingly the more correct.

"2. Of the origin of the collection of the books of Scripture as the repository of Christian knowledge, or of religion; constituting the *History of the Canon*.

"3. Of the spread of the Scriptures by transcriptions, translations, and printing.

"4. Of the vicissitudes and fate of the original text; forming the *History of the Text*; and,

"5. Of the various motives which have led to various modes of understanding the Bible; being the *History of Interpretation*."

Without dwelling upon the remaining contents of the work, we will content ourselves by recommending it earnestly for every minister's and student's library; remarking only, that several of the engravings are beautifully executed on steel.

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2. *The Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil. With English Notes, Critical and Explanatory.* By CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D. Harper & Brothers.

THESE exquisite poems, justly admired by many as not inferior in beauty to the *Æniad*, have hitherto been too little read in our classical

schools, mainly, we doubt not, from the want of suitable editions, adapted to the capacities of the student. This want is now most happily supplied by this volume, in which the distinguished author has removed all difficulties from the path of the scholar, and thus enabled him to read the poems with a hearty appreciation of their peculiar and exquisite beauty. Dr. Anthon's series of classical books is universally regarded as by far the best that has ever been published; and we have no doubt that, like others, this will soon find its way into all our schools.

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3. *A First Book in Latin, containing Grammar, Exercises, and Vocabularies, on the Method of Constant Imitation and Repetition.* By JOHN M'CLINTOCK, A. M., Professor of Languages, and GEORGE R. CROOKS, A. M., Adjunct Professor of Languages, in Dickinson College. Harper & Brothers.

WE are inclined to think that this book, and those which are to follow it by the same authors, will work a revolution in the modes of teaching Latin and Greek in our schools. The principles on which they are prepared were fully set forth in an article in this Journal for Jan., 1846; and we are able to say, on careful examination of the FIRST BOOK, that those principles are carefully adhered to and most admirably carried out for practical purposes. The advantages of Ollendorff's method are secured by exercises for imitation and repetition, which the pupil must prepare from his very first lesson; while the unscientific features of Ollendorff's book are avoided sedulously, and the learner is gradually carried on to a thorough knowledge both of etymology and syntax. As soon as forms are learned, they are employed in practice; no useless material is allowed to accumulate upon the pupil's hands; nor, on the other hand, is he ever required to "make bricks without straw,"—to work exercises for which he is not prepared, as is too generally the case in our elementary books.

But while we were prepared, by reading the article referred to, to find this work an excellent manual for oral instruction in Latin, we certainly did not expect to find in it so great a stock of etymological facts—least of all, to obtain with it any real addition to the science of philology. In these respects it is far more than we could have hoped. Not only has the whole range of German philology been ransacked to contribute to its methods, but new principles have been developed by the authors, which, we predict, will obtain for them a high place among the scholars of the country. Among these we would call attention especially to the doctrine of genders of nouns of the third declension—an instance of clear and beautiful generalization rarely to be met with in the science. Another novel and meritorious feature of the book is

the attention paid to prosody; the quantity being marked on *every syllable* requiring it, in Part I, so that the pupil will learn the rules of quantity by practice, from the very beginning. The syntax, too, is new in its arrangement, and presents some striking advantages, which the experienced teacher will readily perceive.

The First Book contains everything that a pupil can require, before entering upon the regular reading of the Latin authors, viz., grammar, exercises, reading lessons, and dictionaries; and as it will thus combine cheapness with excellence, we have no doubt of its general adoption in our academies and seminaries.

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4. *A Greek Lexicon, based on the German Work of Francis Passow.* By HENRY GEORGE LIDDELL, M. A., and ROBERT SCOTT, M. A. *With Corrections and Additions*, by HENRY DRISLER, M. A., Adjunct Professor of Languages in Columbia College, New-York. Royal 8vo. Harper & Brothers.

WE received a copy of this noble work just as our present number was going to press, and can therefore do little else than briefly allude to it. We regret this the more, since even a cursory examination of the volume has convinced us that it is a production of singular merit, and destined to form a new era in classical scholarship. A more extended notice of it, however, will be taken on some future occasion. For the present, we can merely say, that of all the Greek-English lexicons which we have had an opportunity of inspecting, and we have seen not a few of them in our day, this one comes nearest to our idea of what such a work ought to be. Unlike the confused compilations of Donnegan, Dunbar, and many others whom we might name, it presents us with everything that a lexicon should contain, in so methodical and accurate a form, and evinces so much patient investigation and learned research, so thorough an acquaintance with both the nicest peculiarities of the Greek language and the pure idiom of our own tongue, that while the young student will find in it the most abundant materials for laying broadly and deeply the foundations of the soundest scholarship, even the accomplished Hellenist may derive from it no mean accession to his stores. The basis of the work is the celebrated lexicon of Passow, the Coryphæus in this department of literature,—and on it a capital superstructure has been reared by the combined labors of two eminent English scholars; and then the American editor, coming to the task with a degree of zeal and perseverance worthy of all praise, and a display of judgment and ripened scholarship of which, as his countryman, we feel truly proud, has put the finishing hand to the good work, and made the volume what it is, the *beau idéal* of a Greek and







English lexicon. Nor should the enterprising publishers be without their meed of praise. The publication of a Greek lexicon of seventeen hundred pages, with all the pleasing adjuncts of good paper, broad margin, and a beautiful type, is a feat of which our friends, the Harpers, notwithstanding the triumphs which they have already achieved, may, we think, be justly proud.

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5. *A Treatise on Algebra*. By ELIAS LOOMIS, Professor of Mathematics, &c., in N. Y. University.

THE present work is the fruit of long experience in teaching, and diligent investigation of the science: it is designed to supply a deficiency long acknowledged to exist,—a work which leads the student on through the several gradations of the subject, by easy steps. The author has sought to avoid, on the one hand, unnecessary prolixity in demonstration of every principle, and undue brevity on the other: and with the observance of this happy medium, he has embodied all the latest improvements. Considerable care has been bestowed upon the general theory of equations; each proposition being distinctly enunciated and illustrated by appropriate examples. The work merits the attention of teachers, as well as students, generally. Harper & Brothers are the publishers.

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6. *A Text Book on Chemistry, for the Use of Schools and Colleges*. By JOHN WM. DRAPER, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the University of New-York. Harper & Brothers.

THE distinguished reputation of Prof. Draper will at once commend his able work to the notice of the several institutions of learning throughout the land. For a concise, lucid, and complete analysis of this delightful science, this manual must take undoubted precedence. The recent improvements and discoveries of the German and English writers on chemistry have their appropriate notice in the present volume, and, as far as we have been able to ascertain, Dr. Draper has given in a succinct form the best-arranged system of chemical lore yet offered to the student. The origin of the present work was the outline courses of the professor's lectures to his classes at the University.

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7. *A School Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. Abridged from the larger Dictionary by WM. SMITH, LL. D. With Corrections and Improvements by CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D. Harper & Brothers. 1846.

HERE is a brief practical work that has passed under the hand of that successful editor of classical books, Dr. Anthon.



It is just the book for the elementary student of the classics, being sufficiently extensive for a *coup d'œil* of every important topic. It is rendered more valuable by numerous and graphic illustrations in outline. These, addressing themselves to the eye, will prove powerful aids to the comprehension and the memory.

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8. *A Greek Reader, selected chiefly from Jacobs' Greek Reader, adapted to Bullions' Greek Grammar.* With an Introduction on the Idioms of the Greek Language, Notes Critical and Explanatory, and an Improved Lexicon. By PETER BULLIONS, D. D. New-York: Pratt, Woodford & Co.

IN the experience of our school-days we learned the great value of Bullions' Greek Grammar, distinguished for its clear analysis of the verb. This Reader, we perceive, has been prepared especially for the convenience of those who use the author's Greek Grammar. The object aimed at is to furnish to the attentive student the means of solving readily every difficulty he meets with in his preparations, by referring him to that part of the grammar in which the necessary explanation is contained, and to supply him with that assistance at his desk or in his room for which he might otherwise have to apply to his teacher. In this way the teacher may be relieved from much labor and interruption while engaged in other duties; much time may be saved to the student, while he is gradually led to a thorough and practical acquaintance with the grammatical structure and idioms of the language. The work will no doubt be extensively used.

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9. *Ollendorff's New Method of learning to read, write, and speak, the French Language.* With an Appendix, containing the Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers, and full Paradigms of the Regular and Irregular, Auxiliary, Reflective, and Impersonal Verbs. By J. L. JEWETT. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1846.

IT is truly pleasing to witness the improvements of the present age, but in no department more than in that of philology.

Increased intercourse between nations calls for increasing facilities in the study of their mutual languages. While we may wonder how the old unnatural methods could ever have been brought into use, we may certainly rejoice to see them supplanted by systems more true to nature and reason.

The name and plan of Ollendorff at this day require no praise. The publishers who are offering his grammars in such elegant style to the American public deserve our high commendation. Students in the French will not fail to reward them, by generally procuring a work which must be considered quite in advance of anything of the kind that has heretofore been published.

10. *The Trees of America, Native and Foreign*; pictorially and botanically delineated, and scientifically and popularly described: being considered principally with reference to their Geography and History; Soil and Situation; Propagation and Culture; Accidents and Diseases; Properties and Uses; Economy in the Arts; Introduction into Commerce; and their Application in useful and ornamental Plantations. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. By D. J. BROWNE, Author of the *Sylva Americana*. 8vo., pp. 520. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1846.

THIS volume constitutes a rich contribution to the natural history of our country. It is printed and issued in a style corresponding to the permanent interest and importance of the subject.

Where can the person be found who is indifferent to the existence and beauty of trees? And who that has any regard for either their form, their shade, or their fruit, would willingly be ignorant of their origin, their history, and their uses?

It is a little surprising to observe how poorly informed many learned men are upon such common and practical subjects. Heretofore they may have had excuse, but hereafter they can have none, for a lack of knowledge of such obvious interest. This elegant book is prepared to discourse either to the learned or the simple. It details the most interesting particulars respecting the elm, the maple, the catalpa, or the ailanthus of the door-yard; while it is still more rich in materials respecting the fruit trees of the garden and orchard.

The author appears to have devoted much labor and expense to his task. He has traveled and resided in the four quarters of the globe, for the sake of studying the habits of trees in the places of their nativity; and he has at last brought his observations before the public in a form that we hope will be universally appreciated.

The botanical descriptions of each genus and species are handsomely illustrated by delineations of the leaf and flower, or fruit.

As a whole we should be very unwilling to part with this book, having once laid our hand upon it. In issuing such books as this, the Harpers place the scientific and reading public under real obligations to them.

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11. *A Practical Treatise on Dyeing and Calico-Printing; including the latest Inventions and Improvements, &c.* With an Appendix, &c. By an experienced Dyer, assisted by several scientific Gentlemen. With engravings on Steel and Wood. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1846.

THIS work claims to be a text-book on its subject. It is a subject, too, on which little has hitherto been written. It is anonymous, bearing

the mark of an American copy-right, but giving internal evidence of foreign production.

It begins with historical and general remarks upon the art and custom of producing beautiful and variegated colors, and proceeds with a scientific and practical discussion of coloring substances, and the processes of bleaching, dyeing, and printing, as applied to fabrics of silk, cotton, &c.

No intelligent person engaged in the arts here described will be willing to remain unprovided with this book.

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12. *Pictorial History of England.* Nos. 5-7. Harper & Brothers.

THIS work continues to justify the favorable notice we have already given of it.

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13. *Experimental and Practical Views of the Atonement.* By OCTAVIUS WINSLOW, Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1846.

THIS is a small volume, well-meant, and doubtless well-timed for those who will be its principal readers. We have glanced over the work to find, if possible, something on the extent and universality of the atonement,—this being in our estimation one of the most important and practical views of this great subject.

That point, however, seems to be carefully avoided. Perhaps the course taken is better than an expression of such views as the author might feel himself bound to present, if he were to write at all upon that question. Hence we will not object to it, but will cordially unite with the author in his endeavors and desires to promote spiritual piety in every branch of the church.

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14. *Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans*; compiled from Arabic Sources. By Dr. WEIL. Translated from the German. No. 15, Harpers' New Miscellany.

THIS book will be found interesting as a specimen of Arabic literature, and of the fictions which Mohammed imposed upon his followers in the name of truth.

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15. *Life of Canning.* By ROBERT BELL. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

HERE is a book of real value. It comes fairly up to the character promised and expected in books numbered in the New Miscellany of the Harpers, of which it is the sixteenth. The personal detail, inseparable from the biography of George Canning, is of the most interesting



character, exhibiting as it does the rise of a young man from obscurity to the premiership, and actual sovereignty of England.

The light which it throws upon a most important period in the history of modern nations, renders it an admirable comment on graver works, as well as on the science of statesmanship. It is written in a graphic and pleasing style.

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16. *Expedition to Borneo*. No. 18, New Miscellany. Harper & Brothers.

A WORK of great interest. We propose to notice it in full in our next number.

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17. *Matthias's Manual; or Rules of Order for conducting Business in Deliberative Bodies*. Phila.: Harmstead.

A CONVENIENT work, adapted to an important object. It comes highly recommended, and will, doubtless, be extensively procured by those who from time to time take part—and there are few who do not—in public meetings.

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18. *French Domestic Cookery*: combining Elegance and Economy; describing new Culinary Implements and Processes; the Management of the Table, Instructions for Carving; French, German, Polish, Spanish, and Italian Cookery, in twelve hundred Receipts; besides a Variety of new Modes of keeping and storing Provisions, domestic Hints, Management of Wines, &c. With many Engravings. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1846.

THIS work appears to be a *thesaurus* for the house-keeper. It is beautifully printed on soft callendered paper, and bound *a la mode Francais*.

Whoever follows the maxim, "We live to eat," will here find a book to his taste. Verdant young gentlemen, not yet *au fait* in the mysteries of carving, may receive from it some useful hints. We are sorry to perceive, however, from the title-page as well as from the text, that more or less chapters are devoted to the special benefit of those who manage wines. At this we should not have been so much astonished, had not the publishers been renowned for their temperance principles. It can certainly be no pleasure to them to sweeten the cup of the wine-bibber, or to give precepts for the management of those mixtures now so universally substituted for the juice of the grape. We cannot forbear recommending to them to bring out a teetotal edition of this book on Domestic Cookery, assuring them that they, no less than the intelligent public, will be better pleased with it than with any volume that savors of either foreign or domestic dissipation.

19. *Religious Maxims*. By Prof. UPHAM.

20. *Sacred Meditations*. By P. L. U.; understood to be Mrs. UPHAM.  
Boston: Waite, Pierce & Co.

THESE are miniature volumes prepared and finished in the best style of the times. They are rich in Scriptural truth, beautifully and strongly expressed. They will prove excellent pocket companions for the thoughtful, and, as suited to impress religious truth upon the mind and heart, cannot be recommended too highly.

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21. *Clarke's Commentary*. Lane & Tippet.

Nos. 1-8, of the new edition, have made their appearance. By means of the present cheap issue, this great work is being introduced to hundreds, and, we might hope, thousands, who have not hitherto had the opportunity of consulting it. It cannot be spread too widely, nor be too highly appreciated.

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22. *The Wesley Family*. By Dr. CLARKE. 1 vol. 12mo. pp. 659.

THIS valuable work, which has been out of print in this country for many years, will be issued in a few days by Lane & Tippet in handsome style.

For the present we will only remark that this is a book which, while it will be interesting to most general readers, should certainly be in the possession of every Methodist family in the land.

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#### THE MONTHLY SERIES.

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THE agents of the Methodist Book Concern have resolved to publish a volume every month, adapted to the new development and growing intelligence of the times. This series will be from the pens of authors of ability in their respective departments in literature and science: *Scriptural*, in the principles in which they are written:—*popular* in their style, so that instead of being limited to one class of the community, they may be generally acceptable:—*portable*, that they may serve as "hand-books" abroad and at home:—and *economical*, the twelve volumes of a year costing less than five cents per week. Thus, while the MONTHLY SERIES will be fully adapted to the educated *families* of our

land, to *Day* and *Sunday Schools*, and to the *libraries* of mechanics and others, they will supply interesting and valuable reading to a large number of the people, who can spare only time enough for the perusal of a small volume, and whose means will not allow of a more costly purchase.

We have already noticed Nos. 1 and 2 of this series, viz., the *Life of Julius Cæsar*, and *Glimpses of the Dark Ages*.

We now have before us "*The SOLAR SYSTEM:*" Parts I and II,—constituting Nos. 3 and 4 of the series.

These form a brief but comprehensive view of the science of astronomy, written evidently by a master of the subject. Such a work has long been needed on our list, and we trust it will meet with an extensive sale. The volumes are illustrated with numerous engravings, and thus rendered easy to the comprehension of persons who have not familiarized themselves with the intricacies of the science. We do not mean to intimate that any person, without thought and study, will be able to comprehend the contents of even these small volumes, enriched as they are with the results of the most modern discoveries. But we do think the books before us well calculated to excite, even in those who have but little time, a noble emulation to know more of God as he has displayed himself in his handiwork of the heavens.

We find in Part I a brief sketch of the history of astronomy, followed by three principal treatises, viz.:—1. On the general aspect and apparent motions of the heavens. 2. On the figure and motion of the earth. 3. A description of the bodies connected with the solar system. Part II goes on to give a description of the superior planets, comets, eclipses, and seasons.

We quote the following eloquent passages from the Introduction:—

"Of all the sciences which are the subject of human study and investigation, astronomy must be admitted to be the most interesting and sublime. It teaches us the motions, the magnitudes and distances of the heavenly bodies—their diversified phenomena, the laws by which they are directed in their varied movements, and the grand designs they are intended to fulfill in the vast system of the universe.

"The objects with which this science is conversant are so grand and marvelous—surpassing everything that could have been imagined in the infancy of science—that they tend to enlarge the field of human contemplation, to expand to an indefinite extent the conceptions of the human intellect, and to arouse the attention and excite the admiration even of the most incurious and uncultivated minds. The vast magnitude of the heavenly bodies, so far surpassing what could be conceived by their appearance to the unassisted eye; their incalculable numbers; the immense velocity of their motions, and the astonishing forces with which they are impelled in their career through the heavens; the attractive influence they exert upon each other, at the distance of hundreds of millions of miles; and the important ends they are destined to



accomplish in the universal empire of Jehovah ; present to the human imagination a scene, and a subject of contemplation, on which the soul of man might expatiate with increasing wonder and delight, during the indefinite series of ages.

“ Even to a common observer the heavens present a sublime and elevating spectacle. He beholds an immense concave hemisphere of unknown dimensions, surrounding the earth in every region, and resting as it were upon the circle of the horizon. From every quarter of this vast expanse—when the shades of night have spread over the earth—he beholds numerous lights displayed, proceeding onward in solemn silence, varying their aspects at different seasons, moving with different degrees of velocity, shining with different degrees of splendor, and all calculated to inspire admiration and awe. Wherever he travels abroad, either on the surface of the land or of the ocean, the celestial vault still appears encompassing this lower world ; and, after traveling thousands of miles, it appears still the same, and seems to make no nearer an approach than when the journey commenced. While contemplating this wonderful expanse with the eye of reason and imagination, the mind is naturally led into a boundless train of speculations and inquiries. Where do these mighty heavens begin, and where do they end ? Can imagination fathom their depth, or human calculations, or figures, express their extent ? Have the highest created beings ever winged their flight across the boundaries of the firmament ? Can angels measure the dimensions of these heavens, or explore them throughout all their departments ? Is there a boundary to creation beyond which the energies of Omnipotence are unknown, or does it extend throughout the infinity of space ? Is the immense fabric of the universe yet completed, or is Almighty Power still operating throughout the boundless dimensions of space, and new creations still starting into existence ?

“ Such views and inquiries have a tendency to lead the mind to sublime and interesting trains of thought and reflection, and to afford scope for the noblest energies and investigations of the human intellect. A serious contemplation of the heavens opens to the mental eye a glimpse of orbs of inconceivable magnitude and grandeur, and arranged in multitudes which no man can number, which have diffused their radiance on our world during hundreds of generations. It opens a vista which carries our views into the regions of infinity, and exhibits a sensible display of the immensity of space, and of the boundless operations of Omnipotence : it demonstrates the existence of an eternal and incomprehensible divinity, who presides in all the grandeur of his attributes over an unlimited empire. Amidst the silence and the solitude of the midnight scene, it inspires the soul with a solemn awe, and with reverential emotions ; it excites astonishment, admiration, and wonder, and has a tendency to enkindle the fire of devotion, and to raise the affections to that ineffable Being who presides in high authority over all the movements of the universe. It teaches us the littleness of man, the folly of pride and ambition, and of all that earthly pomp and splendor with which mortals are so enamored—and that our thoughts and affections ought to soar above all the sinful pursuits and transitory enjoyments of this sublunary scene.

“Such being the views and the tendencies of this science, it ought to be considered as bearing an intimate relation to religion, and worthy the study of every enlightened Christian. It has been said, and justly, by a celebrated poet, that ‘an undevout astronomer is mad.’ The evidence of a self-existent and eternal Being, whose wisdom is inscrutable, and whose power is uncontrollable, is so palpably manifested in the arrangement and the motions of the celestial orbs, that it cannot but make an indelible impression on every rational and reflecting mind. Though the heavenly bodies have ‘no speech nor language,’ though they move round the earth in silent grandeur, and ‘their voice is not heard’ in articulate sounds, yet ‘their line is gone throughout all the earth, and their words to the end of the world,’—proclaiming to every attentive spectator, that ‘the hand that made them is divine.’ So that there is scarcely a tribe or nation on the face of the earth so inattentive and barbarous, as not to have deduced this conclusion from a survey of the movements of the celestial orbs. ‘Men,’ says Plato, ‘began to acknowledge a Deity when they saw the stars maintain so great a harmony, and the days and nights throughout all the year, both in summer and winter, to observe their stated risings and settings.’ Another heathen philosopher, Cicero, thus expresses his sentiments on this point: ‘What can be so plain and clear as, when we behold the heavens, and view the celestial bodies, that we should conclude there is some Deity of a most excellent mind by whom these things are governed—a present and Almighty God? Which he that doubts of, I do not understand why he should not as well doubt whether there be a sun that shines, and enlightens the world.’”

In hope of inducing the general attention of religious people to these cheap volumes, we add a few sentences from the conclusion of Part II. In these alone there is more material for devout reflection, than in a whole library of the flashy works that are so popular with many.

“The studies connected with the science of the heavens have a tendency to prepare the soul that has been previously enlightened and regenerated for the employments of the future world. In that world the glory of the divine perfections, as manifested throughout the illimitable tracts of creation, is one of the objects which unceasingly employ the contemplations of the blessed; for they are represented in their adorations as celebrating the attributes of the Deity as displayed throughout the material universe: ‘Great and marvelous are thy works, Lord God Almighty. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.’ Before we can enter that world and mingle with its inhabitants, we must acquire a relish for their employments and some acquaintance with the objects which form the subject of their sublime investigations; otherwise we could feel little enjoyment in the society of heavenly intelligences, and the exercises in which they engage. The investigations connected with astronomy, and the frequent contemplation of its objects, have a tendency to prepare us for such celestial employments; as they awaken attention to such subjects—as they

invigorate the faculties and enlarge the capacity of the intellect—as they suggest sublime inquiries, and excite desires for further information which may afterward be gratified—as they form the ground-work of the progress we may afterward make in that state, in our surveys of the divine operations—as they habituate the mind to take large and comprehensive views of the empire and moral government of the Almighty.

“It is here of some importance to remark, that it is not merely a scientific view of the mechanical fabric of the universe that will prepare us for the employment of the celestial world, but the moral principles and the holy affections with which we are animated in all our studies and contemplations. A man under the influence of evil principles and passions, whose mind is actuated by pride, malignity, avarice, or revenge, is unqualified for a right contemplation of the works of God, for joining in the associations of pure and holy beings, and for engaging in the exalted services of the heavenly world. Unless the principles of ‘love to God,’ and ‘love to man,’ be engraven on our hearts, and interwoven throughout the whole of our mental frame, and manifested in the general tenor of our conduct, we can never enjoy true happiness either in the present state, or in any other region of the universe; and such principles and dispositions can never be expected to be implanted in the soul, and brought forth into action, unless we comply with the requisitions contained in the word of God. The foundation of future felicity must be laid in ‘repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.’ As sinners against the most high God we stand in need of pardon, peace, and reconciliation. And ‘this is the record of God, that he hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son.’ ‘This is his commandment, that we believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ,—whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins.’

“This is the first step in the path which leads to life eternal. And having entered on this course, we must be careful to bring forth ‘the fruits of righteousness,’ and to ‘glorify God in our bodies and spirits which are his.’ We must ‘add to our faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity. For if these things be in us and abound,’ we shall neither ‘be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. For so an entrance shall be ministered unto us abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.’ Prosecuting such a course with activity and perseverance, holding communion with the ‘Father of our spirits,’ and exhibiting a pattern of every divine virtue and grace, we shall enjoy all that happiness which is consistent with our present state of trial and imperfection, and be gradually prepared for being ‘partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light;’ where there is ‘fullness of joy,’ and ‘pleasures for evermore.’ In short, animated by such divine principles and affections, we shall be fitted for holding intercourse with all the holy beings that constitute the moral and intelligent system, or the whole family of God throughout the universe, in whatever regions of the vast crea-



tion they may reside ; for the principles and dispositions to which we have adverted must be common to all the pure intelligences that people creation, that have retained their primeval innocence and rectitude. When implanted in the heart, and interwoven through the whole of the mental constitution, they assimilate us to angels and every other class of holy intelligences, and qualify us for associating with the superior orders of intellectual natures—for entering into their sublime and comprehensive views—for bearing a part in their extensive schemes of universal beneficence—and for contributing, along with them, to the order and prosperity of God's universal and everlasting kingdom !”

24. *Jamaica, Enslaved and Free.* No. 5, Monthly Series.

THIS is a racy volume on a subject of great interest to the naturalist, the statesman, and the Christian.

The great apostle of modern discovery, Columbus himself, was the first European who landed on the shores of Jamaica. This was on his second voyage, in May, 1494.

He had discovered the larger islands of Cuba and Hayti on his first voyage ; but he found that Jamaica far exceeded them in the combination of all the beauties peculiar to the tropics ; at the same time, he perceived the island enlivened by a greater number of villages. The scenery has a character entirely its own ; so that we need not wonder at the transports of his first gaze, nor at his language, when he reported to his royal master, that “these countries as far exceed all others in beauty, as the sun surpasses the moon in brightness and splendor.” But Jamaica was pre-eminent. Its towering mountains rising seven thousand feet, almost immediately from the level of the sea, and robed, nearly to the summits, with the deep verdure of perpetual summer, would appear to a stranger invested with majestic grandeur ; while the immense ravines, which are often found at the base of these mountains, would open to the view the most lovely valleys, whose beauty is still more inviting. Defining the boundary between sea and land, would be seen the belt of mangrove-trees, like a velvet girdle ; while towering over them, groves, or detached clumps of cocoa-nut, or the more stately mountain-cabbage, or the palm, wave their feathery coronets.

The wonder and admiration evinced by Columbus, as an enthusiastic adventurer, need surprise no one, when travelers of modern days have been carried away with similar raptures on a first view of Jamaica.

The death of Columbus and the settlement of Jamaica by Europeans occupy an appropriate space in this volume ; while the scenery, the natural productions, and the climate of the island, claim severally a chapter. Then follows a history of the slave-trade and its results, together with those movements which led to its abolition by the decrees of civilized nations.

The remainder of the volume is devoted to the missionary labors which have been expended by the Wesleyans and others upon the inhabitants of Jamaica, and concludes with an account of the recent emancipation and apprenticeship of the slaves of that island. As an authentic, well-written book on topics of so great interest, it cannot fail to be extensively sought for.

25. *The Martyrs of Bohemia; or Brief Memoirs of John Huss and Jerome of Prague.* No. 6, Monthly Series.

THE preceding volumes of the Monthly Series have been reprints of English books. The present, we perceive, has been contributed by an able American pen. A strictly original work could not of course be written at this day upon such a subject. An essential service has, however, been rendered to the religious community by the writer and publishers, who have furnished in the present form a cheap and attractive digest of the different, and, in some instances, rare books which contained the thrilling history of the life and martyrdom of Huss and Jerome.

26. *Sketch of the Waldenses.* No. 7, Monthly Series.

HERE is another sterling work on an interesting fragment of church history.

*Lux lucet in tenebris*, was the ancient motto of the Waldenses, or Vaudois; and that light shining in darkness has not yet been extinguished. God has preserved this peculiar people through the lapse of centuries, amid the rise and fall of nations, as well as amid the wild storms of their native mountains, and the fierce storms of persecution which Popery has repeatedly let loose upon them. How intensely interesting is their history, and how instructive the example which, in early days especially, they set for our imitation, can in no way be better appreciated than by a perusal of this volume.

27. *Memoir of Dr. W. F. Arnold; with Extracts from his Letters, written from the West Indies.* No. 372, Youth's Library.

IN this volume we have a Memoir of an American youth, son of an early and devoted pioneer in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It will be read with great satisfaction by persons of all ages, and by none without leaving a good impression upon the mind.

28. *An Example for Young Men: a Memoir of John Daglish.* By the Rev. SAMUEL DUNN. No. 364, Youth's Library.

THIS is a well-drawn portraiture of a young and faithful Christian. The young man resided at New-Castle-on-Tyne, and the author of the Memoir, as will be perceived, is the special friend and author of the forth-coming biography of the celebrated Dr. Clarke.

29. *Garden of the Lord.* Lane & Tippett.

THIS is an original and an ingenious work. It may not be thought faultless in all its illustrations. But to many minds it will beyond a doubt prove more inviting, and, we may hope, more useful, than some profound and systematic discussions of the subject of entire sanctification.

30. *Golden Maxims.* 48mo. Lane & Tippett.

THIS little volume, as its title intimates, contains golden opinions from many distinguished men, and we think it destined to win golden opinions from its readers. It is very suitable for a holyday present. The truth it contains will endure when the fine gold of this earth shall have become dim.

